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VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 8, August 1985

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SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

CONTENTS

Firmly Protecting the Gains of the Revolution, Building a Powerful and Prosperous Fatherland (pp 1-4) (Editorial)[this article appeared in FBIS JPRS SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT 85-140, 14 Sep 85, pp 136-139]	
The Continuous Growth and Development of the Alliance of the Three Countries of Indochina (pp 5-11) (Senior General Chu Huy Man).....	1
The Trade Unions and Socialist Industrialization (pp 12-17, 49) (Nguyen Duc Thuan).....	10
President Ho Chi Minh: a Summary Chronology (from 14 August 1945 to (20 December 1946) (pp 18-25) (chronology compiled by The Tap).....	18
Hanoi's Uprising (pp 26-33) (Nguyen Quyet).....	29
A Retrospective Look at the Uprising To Seize Political Power in Hue (pp 34-42, 86) (Hoang Anh).....	40

Upholding Revolutionary Traditions, Determined To Make Bac Thai a Prosperous and Strong Province (pp 43-49) (Vu Ngoc Linh).....	52
Ben Tre Province: Ten years of Challenges, Ten Years of Growth and Victory (pp 50-56) (Nguyen Van Trung).....	61
In Binh Tri Thien Today (pp 57-61) (Nguyen Duc Thieng).....	71
Forty Years Under the People's Administration (pp 62-67) (Nguyen Quan).....	78
Initial Experiences in Building the District and Strengthening the District Level In Cai Lay (pp 68-73) (Le Van Khoi).....	85
Hoa Vang District: Ten Years of Building and Growth (pp 74-79) (Nguyen Tien Qua).....	93
Nam Hai: An Advanced Handicraft Cooperative (pp 80-86) (Dam Mai).....	101
The Patriarch (pp 87-89) (Nhi Le).....	110
The Ideological Struggle on the Literary-Art Front Under the Leadership of the Party (pp 90-95) (Vu Duc Phuc).....	114
The Large Achievements of Cambodia's System of Revolutionary Education (pp 96-98) (Le Dan).....	122
Food, Clothing and Shelter in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea (pp 99-101) (Le Tinh).....	126
Chinese Society as Seen Through a Number of Recent Chinese Literary Works (pp 102-106, 101) (Le Huy Thieu).....	130
Cover Pages.....	137
Index to TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 8, August 1985 (JPRS).....	139

THE CONTINUOUS GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIANCE OF THE THREE COUNTRIES OF INDOCHINA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 5-11

[Article by Senior General Chu Huy Man]

[Text] Since ancient times, the three fraternal neighboring countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have been closely linked to one another within natural geographical, social and historical relations. Living together on the Indochina peninsula, these three countries have close geographical ties to one another. They share the same mountains, their rivers feed one another. These natural conditions led to the development of economic and cultural exchanges and the formation of close neighborly relations among these three nations at an early date. In particular, for many centuries in their history, these three nations were constantly threatened and invaded by northern and western reactionary, feudal powers. As a result, they often assisted and relied upon one another and fought the enemy together in order to survive and develop.

When the French colonialists imposed their tyrannical rule on the Indochina peninsula, all three peoples suffered the pain of losing their country. All three shared a common enemy and arose in struggle together to win their independence. The spirit of solidarity, cooperation and mutual assistance in resisting the aggressors grew and became more clearly defined. From then on, the peoples of the three countries shared the common goals of struggling for the independence and freedom, for social progress and the prosperity of their own country and equality among these nations. Characterizing this period was the combat coordination between the patriotic forces of Doc Huan in the Dong Thap Muoi region of Vietnam and the Acha Soa, Cha la Chuk and Kracohon movements in Cambodia in 1865 and 1866; between the patriotic movement of the Montagnards in the Central Highlands of Vietnam and the coordinated uprisings led by Mr. Keo and Mr. Comadam in Lower Laos from 1901 to 1937; between the patriotic people in the Thanh Hoa, Hoa Binh and Son La regions of Vietnam and the uprisings by the Lao in Sam Nua and Xieng Khouang in Laos during the years from 1918 to 1922... All of these patriotic and just uprisings of the three nations of Indochina ended in defeat and were drowned in a sea of blood. The solidarity and combat coordination among the people of the three countries during this period were spontaneous and disorganized in nature.

In 1911, carrying on the indomitable, unyielding tradition of his nation, possessing deep patriotism and a deep love of the people, burning with hatred of the enemy and clearly recognizing the impasse that the various patriotic movements had reached concerning which line to follow, Nguyen Ai Quoc, the great patriot and international militant whose 95th birthday we celebrate this year, left the fatherland in search of a path to national salvation and national liberation. Following many years of working, conducting research and studying throughout the world, he arrived at Marxism-Leninism, arrived in Russia, the home of the great October Revolution, and came to the realization that "there is no other path by which to save the country and liberate the nation than the path of the proletarian revolution." With that, he did everything possible to spread Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam and Indochina in preparation for founding a party of the working class. And, on 3 February 1930, the Indochinese Communist Party, the forerunner of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, was born.

On the very day that it was founded, the Indochinese Communist Party clearly and correctly identified the objects of the revolution, the primary enemies that had to be defeated as the imperialists and feudalists; clearly and correctly defined the line of the revolution as winning national independence and advancing to socialism while bypassing the stage of capitalist development; and clearly and correctly defined the forces of the revolution as all the people, the nucleus of whom was the alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party. On the basis of the party's correct line and under its skillful leadership, the revolutionary struggle movement in Vietnam as well as all three countries of Indochina took off like a fire started in a dry forest, like a kite catching the wind. In the flames of this struggle, the cooperation and mutual assistance among the three nations of Indochina in the fight against the common enemy gradually evolved from spontaneous to conscious cooperation and assistance and became increasingly strong. Panic-stricken by the growth and strength of the Indochina revolution, the enemy turned to brutal suppression and ruthless terror but, when someone fell, the person behind him rushed forth and the communist militants of Indochina still held high the banners of national independence and socialism and closely combined their national task and international obligation. The peoples of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were organized and educated by the Indochinese Communist Party within a new style relationship, one that combined genuine patriotism with pure proletarian internationalism and firm confidence in final victory.

In August 1945, seizing the favorable opportunity that had arisen as a result of the defeat of German, Italian and Japanese fascism by the Soviet Union and the allies, the Indochinese Communist Party promptly mobilized all the people to quickly arise in a general uprising, crush the ruling apparatus of the colonialists and feudalists and put political power into the hands of the people. With the success of the August Revolution, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded. The Lao party organization promptly led its people in uprisings to bring down the reactionary ruling apparatus, establish people's administrations in Vientiane and a number of other municipalities and cities and establish an independent Lao government. The Cambodian party organization quickly expanded the struggle being waged by all the people; many

demonstrations, student strikes and market boycotts occurred and many revolutionary bases were established throughout the country. These were the first large gains made by the alliance of the three countries of Indochina led by the party of the working class in the new era. Shortly thereafter, the French colonialists, with the assistance of the British and American imperialists, sent their troops back to invade Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia again. All three nations of Indochina were once again in danger of being enslaved. Despite encountering countless difficulties in this situation, a situation in which "life hung in the balance," the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, their spirit being that they would "rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of their country, than be enslaved," strengthened their unity and, standing together, waged a long and heroic war of resistance against their common enemy.

The lopsided fight that the three nations of Indochina had to make, lopsided in terms of economic and military might, in terms of technical equipment, seemed futile, like an "egg colliding with a stone," a "grasshopper fighting an elephant." The French made every effort to divide the three nations, to divide the people within each country under their insidious policy of "divide and rule"; at the same time, they made all of Indochina a single battlefield in order to encircle and isolate the resistance forces of each country and all three of these countries in a vain attempt to crush these forces.

However, the correct line and talented leadership of the party and President Ho Chi Minh gave the alliance of the three countries of Indochina strength and increased this strength many times. The vigorous growth of the revolution in the three countries and the objective demands of the revolution of each country led to the establishment from a common party, the Indochinese Communist Party, of Marxist-Leninist parties within the three countries. Under the wise leadership of the party and through their own efforts, by shedding their own blood and sweat, the armed forces and peoples of the three fraternal countries waged an extremely hard and bitter fight and endured every sacrifice for 9 years and brought the war of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists to an historic victory, the pinnacle of which was the "earth-shattering" Dien Bien Phu campaign. The peoples of the three countries had very closely united with and assisted one another in every way possible in the spirit of self-reliance and displayed an ardent patriotism fused with a pure international spirit.

The alliance of the three countries of Indochina was an important factor in creating the strength that enabled the peoples of the three countries to win this victory.

With the defeat of the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists kicked out the French and began waging a neo-colonialist war of aggression against South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Utilizing reactionary forces and every modern military weapon and technology available (with the exception of nuclear weapons), they tried one barbaric war strategy after another in a vain attempt to conquer the peoples of the three countries of Indochina. As the French colonialists had done in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists used one country as a base from which to encircle and break the strategic position of the resistance and the revolution of another country. In

actuality, the U.S. imperialists also turned Indochina into a single battlefield. In the face of this situation, the peoples and revolutionary armed forces of the three countries of Indochina united and coordinated with one another on the basis of the view that Indochina was one battlefield. Through the fierce fight against their common enemy, the militant solidarity and special friendship among the peoples of the three countries were once again challenged and tempered. The alliance of the three countries of Indochina became a reality of history.

Under the leadership of the three parties, the peoples of the three countries won the marvelous victory of "driving off the Americans, bringing down the puppets." With this victory, the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia entered an era of brilliant development, the era of independence, freedom and socialism. History had once again shown the alliance of the three countries of Indochina to be the factor determining victory in the struggle for national independence of each country as well as all three nations of Indochina.

The tragic defeat suffered by the U.S. imperialists was also a painful defeat for the Beijing reactionaries whose intentions have long been to annex the three countries of Indochina and expand into Southeast Asia. The three countries of Indochina uniting and cooperating with one another in independence and freedom and advancing together toward socialism posed an obstacle to their achieving their great Han chauvinist designs in this region and in the world. Therefore, soon after these three countries won victory, they used their capable lackeys, the Khmer reactionaries, to implement a policy of genocide in Cambodia, launch a war of aggression against Vietnam along the southwestern border and drew and provoked other reactionaries into opposing and attacking the revolution in Laos. The peoples and revolutionary forces of Vietnam and Laos wholeheartedly assisted the patriots of Cambodia in defeating the lackey butchers of Beijing. The country of the brilliant Angkor civilization had been saved. The People's Republic of Kampuchea was born. Immediately thereafter, in February 1979, the Beijing reactionaries sent more than 600,000 troops to invade the six provinces along Vietnam's northern border. However, as everyone knows, they, too, suffered shameful defeat. Through their militant alliance, their close unity and wholehearted mutual assistance, the peoples of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia firmly defended their beloved fatherlands. The alliance of the three countries of Indochina was a decisive factor in the achievement of this enormous strength by the peoples of the three countries.

Thus, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have had to unite with and assist one another because of the objective needs to survive and develop. Every since the parties of the working class of the three countries were born and assumed leadership, the peoples of the three countries have become more fully aware of this necessity with each day that has passed. They have been loyal and faithful to one another, have shared what they have with one another, have lived and died beside one another and made sacrifices for one another in order to win common victory. They have established an alliance to fight for each country and each country stands ready to make sacrifices and fight for this alliance.

Today, the alliance of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina has developed into an alliance of the states of three nations who are close neighbors, three independent and sovereign nations with territorial integrity led by three genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

In February 1983, a special, memorable event took place: the High Level Conference of Representatives of the Three States of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia was held in Vientiane, the capital of the beautiful country of Laos. On the basis of the realities of the long process of revolutionary struggle by the peoples of the three countries, the conference concluded: "The militant alliance and solidarity among the three nations is a law of development of the revolutions of the three countries and has been a fundamental factor in winning victory over each enemy and winning the independence and freedom of each country. Whenever the solidarity of the three countries is undermined, the independence of each country is endangered."

With the joint communique of the high level conference of the three states, a full legal basis now underlies the strategic, militant alliance of the three countries of Indochina, thus insuring that the combined strength of all three countries can be used to build and defend the fatherland in the new period and thereby helping to achieve the noble goals of our times, the goals of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

In the world today, the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are working with other reactionary powers to strengthen their global counter-revolutionary alliance. They are insanely pursuing an arms race policy, even in space, in a vain attempt to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and block the three revolutionary currents. They are plotting ways to push mankind into a destructive nuclear war. Unable to launch a world war, they have been launching regional wars through regional alliances of many different forms with the aim of achieving their sinister designs.

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have been collaborating ever more closely with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces in a vain attempt to achieve their basic, long-range objectives of weakening and annexing Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, thereby opening the way for expansion into Southeast Asia. They are waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage against the three countries of Indochina while making active preparations for a large-scale war of aggression against all three countries.

Facts have proven that the U.S. imperialists are the basic, long-range enemy of the world revolution, that the Chinese reactionaries are the immediate dangerous enemy of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina.

Today, as was the case in the past, every enemy seeks to divide the three countries of Indochina in order to weaken the position and forces of the revolutions of the three countries and every enemy uses all of Indochina as a battlefield in order to oppose the revolution of each country and all three countries of Indochina. Dividing the three countries of Indochina and considering them to be a single battlefield has become the traditional policy, the policy of foremost strategic importance, of each enemy of the peoples of

these three countries, the aim of which is to serve their unchanging political ambition of annexing and ruling all three countries.

These objective realities have shown the people of Vietnam as well as the peoples of Laos and Cambodia that there is but one correct, necessary course to follow, namely, to voluntarily, on their own initiative and with firm conviction make Indochina a single battlefield in order to unite and coordinate strategy, fight to defeat the common enemy, win back and defend their independence and freedom and make their countries prosperous and strong.

In view of the fact that the alliance of the three countries of Indochina enabled the peoples of our three countries to achieve an enormous strength, as a result of which they won victory in their cause of national liberation, today, in the new stage of the revolution as well as in all subsequent stages, we cannot relax for one moment our efforts to consolidate and strengthen this alliance in order to firmly safeguard the independence that has been won and make our country increasingly prosperous. We must endeavor to give the people, cadres and soldiers of the people's armed forces of Vietnam (as well as the peoples and revolutionary armed forces of fraternal Laos and Cambodia) a deep understanding of the reactionary nature and the cunning schemes of the enemy. On this basis, we must sharpen our vigilance, be truly vigilant, be ready to unite and coordinate with one another and thwart each of their actions. The experience of the revolutionary struggle waged by the peoples of the three countries of Indochina shows: the nature and schemes of the enemy never change. In the course of the struggle, they often resort to intricate military, political and diplomatic tactics. However, regardless of how these tactics are disguised, they are all designed to serve their strategic intentions, to achieve their basic, unchanging objectives.

As for ourselves, appropriate forms of struggle can be adopted depending upon specific developments in the situation during each period. This is obvious. The purpose here is to make our strategic position stronger, to competently support efforts to achieve our strategic objectives. Our people and armed forces can absolutely never be vague about or confuse tactics and strategy. As those who bear arms and personally protect the revolutionary gains of the people, our armed forces must know one important fact, a fact that has been proven by the realities of history on many different occasions, namely, that thorough victory for the revolution can only be achieved by means of their own real revolutionary strength on the battlefield.

In the new stage of the revolution, the line of the party has set for our people the tasks of building socialism while firmly defending the socialist fatherland. These two tasks are closely interrelated and have become the law by which each nation survives and develops in the modern age, an age in which the socialist revolutionary has yet to achieve success on the major portion of our planet. The alliance of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, which the high level Indochina conference called the law insuring the survival of each country as well as all three of our countries, is totally consistent with this universal law of our times. Only by constantly consolidating and strengthening the alliance of the three countries of Indochina can we achieve all the strength needed to successfully build socialism and firmly defend our socialist fatherland. Only by strengthening

the alliance of the three countries of Indochina can the people of Vietnam as well as the peoples of Laos and Cambodia develop and make increasingly effective use of the rich potentials that lie in their labor and natural resources, supplement one another in these areas, help one another meet the pressing needs of production and everyday life, prepare for long-range national construction projects that are consistent with the plans of each country and gradually establish close ties with one another within a common economic development strategy.

The task of defending the fatherland faces our armed forces and people as well as the peoples and revolutionary armed forces of our two neighboring countries with the need to consolidate and strengthen their alliance and firmly adhere to the view that Indochina is one battlefield. This requires that the peoples of our three fraternal countries actively assist one another in building their revolutionary armed forces, strengthening their national defense systems and maintaining political security and social order.

The people of Vietnam as well as the peoples of fraternal Laos and Cambodia must strengthen their unity around their central committee of their party and successfully implement the line of their party so that their country becomes prosperous and strong within the common prosperity and strength of the Soviet Union and the other countries within the world socialist community. Achieving the combined strength of each country so that each country and all three countries become prosperous and strong is the correct course to follow in order to effectively strengthen the alliance of the three countries.

In the task of consolidating and strengthening the alliance of the three countries of Indochina, our peoples and armed forces have the fullest respect for one another's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate interests and do not intervene in one another's internal affairs. This is a relationship of voluntary association, of true equality, a relationship in which there are no distinctions made between large country and small country, between whether the revolution achieved victory early or later, between whether the assistance provided is much or little... It is a relationship in which every issue pertaining to the relations among the three countries must and always can be resolved through negotiations in the spirit of mutual understanding. From an economic standpoint, it is a relationship of cooperation and mutual assistance in the spirit of equality and reciprocity, a relationship in which all sides benefit and each extends priority and preferential terms to the other...

President Ho taught our armed forces and people that "helping a friend is helping ourselves." Our armed forces and people fully realize that when the independence of fraternal Laos and Cambodia is endangered, the Vietnam fatherland is threatened. The Vietnam revolution as well as the Lao and Cambodian revolutions are always a part of the world revolution. In this spirit, our armed forces and people see the noble contributions that the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia have made to their victories and are deeply grateful for this valuable assistance. At the same time, they consider the victories of Laos and Cambodia to be victories of their own. In the same spirit and at the request of our friends, the Vietnamese have been and are continuing to send their outstanding sons to work and fight on the battlefield

of our friends. Vietnamese specialists and volunteer forces have very willingly endured every difficulty and hardship, have made sacrifices and fought in coordination with the armed forces and peoples of our friends, have protected the life and firmly defended each bit of soil and each piece of property and natural resource of our friends. The unswerving international loyalty and devotion of the armed forces and people of Vietnam have been and are making effective contributions to consolidating and strengthening the alliance of the three countries of Indochina.

The realities of the formation and development of the alliance of the three countries of Indochina prove that the ideological foundation of this alliance is Marxism-Leninism, is genuine patriotism combined with pure proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of Vietnam as well as the fraternal parties in Laos and Cambodia always teach each succeeding generation of their people this spirit, considering it to be an important element in the strategy for molding the new man. On the one hand, our party has, through continuous educational efforts, given our people and armed forces a deep understanding of the country, society, people, history and tradition of revolutionary struggle of the fraternal countries and cultivated a feeling of loving and respecting these nations that are our friends as they do their own nation, thereby helping to bring the peoples of these three countries closer together. On the other hand, our party has waged a determined struggle against schemes and actions to divide the three nations, against everything that is alien to pure proletarian internationalism, such as bigoted nationalism and big country chauvinism.

The greatest gains of the long revolutionary struggle waged by the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are that all three countries have won their independence and reunified their fatherland, all three are advancing together toward socialism and building relations of special solidarity and friendship, building a strategic and tactical alliance based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Each victory won by the peoples of the three countries of Indochina as well as these relations and this alliance stem from the steadfast, clear-sighted leadership provided under the correct lines of the three Marxist-Leninist parties, the three vanguard units of the working classes of the three countries on the Indochina peninsula and are closely associated with the person and career of President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Indochinese Communist Party, the person who first laid the foundations of and cultivated these relations of special solidarity and friendship and this strategic and tactical alliance of the three fraternal countries. The alliance of the three countries of Indochina gave the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia enormous strength with which to win victory in the cause of national liberation and has become the law by which these three nations survive and develop. The alliance of the three countries of Indochina is a part of a strategic front of the socialist international alliance and world revolutionary forces, of which the Soviet Union is the pillar, and is an important factor of peace, stability, national independence and social progress in Southeast Asia and the world.

Today, in the new stage of the revolution and in the face of the schemes of the enemy, the three countries are continuing to unite in the fight, are making every effort to consolidate and increase the strength of their alliance

with the aim of helping one another successfully build socialism and firmly defend their socialist fatherland, thus helping to increase the strength of the socialist system and safeguard peace in Southeast Asia and the world. This is a noble cause, a just cause, a cause that is totally consistent with the deep held aspirations of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina and with the laws of development of mankind.

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THE TRADE UNIONS AND SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 12-17, 49

[Article by Nguyen Duc Thuan]

[Text] Creatively applying the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of our country, our party set forth the line on building the socialist economy, in which special emphasis is placed upon the role of industrialization, which is considered the central task throughout the period of transition. This is a correct, revolutionary and scientific line.

In recent years, due to shortcomings in concretizing this line and organizing its implementation, due to a less than full understanding of the requirements, specifics and methods of socialist industrialization, due to the management system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and due to the failure to resolve the problems of prices, wages and money well, there has not truly been a strong and spirited revolutionary action movement among workers to gain their participation on this very important front.

In order to join our party and people in continuing to promote the industrialization of the country, the trade unions have the large responsibility of making every effort to teach, organize and mobilize manual workers and civil servants so that they have a thorough understanding of the strategic thinking of the party, exercise collective ownership and implement each policy adopted by the party in a way that sets a good example, in a creative and effective way.

To begin with, the trade unions must make manual workers and civil servants fully aware of the fact that only by carrying out socialist industrialization is it possible to build socialism and firmly defend the fatherland, possible to escape poverty and backwardness, possible to achieve a life of comfort and happiness now and in the future. Socialist industrialization is an historic necessity, is a compulsory law governing socialist construction within a country whose economy is underdeveloped, such as our country. In building socialism in our country, as our party has stated, we must build socialism from the ground up, from its basic units to the superstructure, from production forces to production relations and, in particular, must quickly create the "material backbone" of socialism.

If we do not fully adhere to this fundamental view, we will stray far from the principles of Marxism-Leninism on socialist construction and will, in our practical actions, slow the rate of industrial construction and weaken the dominant role played by industry in the national economy. To talk about industrialization is to talk first about the development of heavy industry. For our country, our party has developed an economic form suited to the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, namely, building a rational industrial-agricultural structure and eventually establishing a modern industrial-agricultural structure. Therefore, an understanding of socialist industrialization in our country cannot stop at general principles, but must include a grasp and understanding of the elements and essence of the party's economic line.

The 5th National Congress of the Party defined the main elements of socialist industrialization in the present stage within our country in the following manner: "Efforts must be focused on strongly developing agriculture, considering it to be the front of foremost importance, and advancing agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production while making every effort to step up consumer goods production and continuing to build a number of important heavy industrial sectors; agriculture, the consumer goods industry must be combined within a rational industrial-agricultural structure."(1)

To correct and prevent misconceptions and incorrect approaches in the implementation of the above mentioned line of the party the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the Party Central Committee pointed out: "To not consider agriculture to be the front of foremost importance at this time is a mistake. However, it is also a mistake to give light attention to the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism, that is, socialist industrialization, the essence of which is combining agriculture with industry at the very outset and giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry.

Together with clarifying the above mentioned basic views of the party, the trade unions must make manual workers and civil servants fully aware of the fact that socialist industrialization is a revolutionary undertaking carried out by the masses under the leadership of the party; however, above everything else, it must be the undertaking of the working class, the class that is closely associated with and represents the socialist mode of production, the class that is the basic force and the main social base of the socialist system. This is a glorious but exceedingly difficult undertaking, one which history has entrusted to the working class. Every manual worker and civil servant must clearly recognize the honor and responsibility that are his in socialist industrialization.

The trade unions must show manual workers and civil servants that while we have advantages in our favor, we still face very many difficulties as we move ahead. Our greatest difficulty at this time is the very large need for capital for industrialization at a time when the ability of the economy to meet this need is limited. This demands that workers not only work with enthusiasm and creativity in order to achieve increasingly high efficiency, but also that they endure the hardships and make the sacrifices necessary for

today and tomorrow. If we consume all that we produce or produce less and consume more, we will never be able to accumulate the capital needed to carry out socialist industrialization.

Together with giving manual workers and civil servants a thorough understanding of the line and view of the party concerning socialist industrialization, the trade unions also have a very large responsibility in launching and organizing revolutionary action movements of the working class and encouraging manual workers and civil servants to become strongly involved in socialist industrialization.

In the present stage, the most important, most decisive specific objectives of the revolutionary action movement of manual workers and civil servants are high productivity, high quality and high economic returns achieved on the basis of production.

Within industry, the trade unions must, on the basis of participating in the restructuring of production and the improvement of economic management, agitate among manual workers and civil servants, encouraging them to display a high sense of collective ownership and develop and utilize, in the best and most rational manner possible, their sources of supplies, raw materials, machinery, equipment and labor in order to successfully complete each production plan with high productivity, quality and efficiency.

There is a very serious shortage of products for production and for social consumption. There are nationwide shortages, shortages within each sector and locality and shortages at each basic unit. Each family and each worker experience very serious shortages each day. Meanwhile, only a little more than one-half of the capacity of machinery and equipment is being utilized. Some 20 to 30 percent of the man hours and even the labor force within industry are not being utilized. More than 10 percent of production materials and supplies are being wasted and lost. Responsibility for this lies with manual workers and civil servants, the persons who directly exercise collective ownership at basic units; at the same time, responsibility also lies with the leaders, managers and executive committees of the trade unions at basic units. The view toward production and the sense of collective ownership of the worker who possesses socialist awareness must be given concrete expression by working in a disciplined, technical and highly productive manner and doing work of high quality, by being steadfastly opposed to laziness, the waste of public property, concern only for the illegitimate interests of the unit, of the individual... To evade work, to not fulfill one's obligation to work or to make inferior products, defective products...is, in actuality, to live on the basis of the labor of others. Phenomena that involve taking a large percentage of the profits for oneself by cheating the state or the collective are alien to the character of the manual worker within the socialist system. The revolutionary actions of the worker in the socialist revolution not only have the purpose of completely abolishing every form of oppression and exploitation within society, but also the purpose of combating parasitic behavior, reliance upon others, the thinking of individualism and self-interest within one's class, one's family, oneself.

In the years ahead, the emulation movements of manual workers and civil servants organized by the trade unions must be designed to stimulate the development of industrial production on the basis of making the most rational and efficient use possible of the potentials of the country, the machine and equipment capacity and the labor that exist now and will exist in the future in order to complete production plans. The trade unions must participate in a practical and effective way with the agencies of the state in teaching manual workers and civil servants to correctly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and balance the three economic interests that are the driving forces behind emulation movements. The trade unions must attach very much importance to making innovations, making technological improvements and rationalizing production, considering these to be important ways to raise labor productivity and work efficiency. Therefore, the trade unions must also attach importance to organizing collective movements of the workers within each basic unit, within each work section and unit so that each of these units is truly a school, a place that cultivates the thinking and occupational skills of manual workers and civil servants.

While attaching importance to organizational and economic measures, the trade unions must not overlook the need to regularly cultivate and heighten the political awareness and the sense of collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants. This is both a force behind the revolutionary movements of the masses and an objective of ours in molding the new, socialist worker. The political consciousness and spirit of collective ownership of the manual worker and civil servant must be expressed first by setting good examples in work and consciously maintaining labor discipline. Strengthening and improving labor discipline within the working class as well as within our society, a society long ruled by the habits of taking whatever liberties one pleases and doing things in a disorganized way is a pressing requirement of far reaching economic as well as political significance. When Russia embarked on socialist construction, Lenin stressed: "Our full attention must be focused on matters relating to labor discipline, because labor discipline is the key to the whole economic construction of socialism, is that which forms the base of our understanding of the proletarian dictatorship." (2)

Improving the economic management system in accordance with the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee is a very important prerequisite to the development of emulation movements in work and production at basic industrial units. The various levels of the trade union must orient their activities toward the struggle to dismantle the management system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization and build the new management system based on economic accounting and socialist business practices in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism while emphasizing the role that initiative and creativity on the part of basic units play. Trade union cadres must endeavor to increase their knowledge of economic management and agitate and organize the masses by methods that are well suited to the requirement that the masses participate in economic management.

Within agriculture, the foremost and primary requirement in socialist industrialization in the present stage in our country is to bring agriculture one step closer to large-scale, socialist production within a rational industrial-agricultural structure. Without the direct support of industry and

without industry becoming an increasingly large part of agriculture from the standpoint of technology as well as the organization of production and management, agriculture cannot become an agriculture of large-scale production. Because, the terms large-scale production and small-scale production do not only indicate the scale of organization, rather, they are, most importantly and decisively, terms that reflect the equipment standards of its material-technical base. In recent years, as a result of the introduction of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, agricultural production has developed from the standpoint of yields and output. However, it surely cannot continue to develop indefinitely without the role played by industry. Facts at many places have shown that this development has been slowing. Incentives to work, no matter how high they might be, cannot take the place of the improvement of work tools, the introduction of advanced techniques and the use of new, high yield varieties and breeds in crop and livestock production. But these are things that agriculture and farmers cannot do on their own. They must rely upon industry, upon the working class and the corps of scientific-technical cadres being led by the party.

The various trade union levels must make manual workers and civil servants clearly understand that accelerating the development of agriculture and advancing agriculture to large-scale, socialist production are a basic, direct and long-range task of our country's worker and trade union movement.

The emulation movements of manual workers and civil servants must be designed to meet, in the best and most convenient manner possible, the requirements of agricultural production, beginning with the requirements regarding machinery, tools, agricultural supplies, energy, water conservancy, crop seed, breeding stock... The trade unions of the various levels and sectors, most importantly the trade unions at the basic units supporting agricultural production and the district trade unions, must develop upon the experiences that have been gained in tying the emulation movements of manual workers and civil servants to the requirement of supporting agricultural production through, for example, a scientific irrigation and drainage movement based on the Cau Ghe irrigation network advanced model; a movement to deliver fertilizer directly to production sites based on the models of Ha Bac, An Giang...; a movement to protect crop seed based on the models of Long An and Haiphong; a movement to establish economic ties for the purpose of building high yield rice areas, areas specializing in vegetable and fruit production or the production of industrial crops and economic-technical clusters based on the models in Dai Loc (Quang Nam-Da Nang), Thu Duc (Ho Chi Minh City), etc.

In recent years, as a result of industry having an impact upon and becoming a part of agriculture, agriculture has made significant strides forward despite encountering very many difficulties and has reflected a beautiful image: two classes (manual workers and collective farmers) working together to produce a product, working together to build the system of socialist collective ownership. At the basic units within state-operated agriculture (state farms, stations, farm...) and the agro-industrial combines, the trade unions must do a good job of encouraging manual workers and civil servants to meet the goals of raising the yields and output of crops and livestock, producing and doing business at a profit and setting examples for cooperatives and production

collectives in the implementation of the new management system, the application of technical advances and the building of the new life. The establishment of centralized industrial crop growing areas (rubber, coffee, tea, jute, sugarcane, oil bearing plants...) is raising new problems in the activities of the trade union, especially in areas in which there are joint businesses between agriculture and industry. The trade unions must, on the basis of the actual requirements of production activities, develop themes and modes of activity that help to constantly stimulate the development of production in the most effective and practical manner possible.

The district trade unions must grow into their role of establishing ties among the movements of the various industrial, small industry and handicraft production sectors and ties between the basic state-operated units located within the district and the collective economic units within the district with the aim of successfully carrying out production plans. Thus, supporting agriculture, more precisely, having an impact upon agriculture is also one of the basic requirements of our country's worker movement. Under the slogan "workers and farmers exercising ownership together," which General Secretary Le Duan introduced, the campaign to have industry support agriculture opens a broad horizon for the development of the worker movement and trade union activities, extends trade union activities in scope and space and lays the groundwork for the trade union to eventually fulfill its role, a role foreseen by Lenin, as the "school of communism for farmers."

Of course, carrying out socialist industrialization is not simply a matter of resolving problems in the development of industry and agriculture, but also has the purpose of resolving numerous other problems of the economy in order to bring about strong and well-coordinated development within each field of social activity, such as communications-transportation, capital construction, distribution, circulation, exports, imports, culture and education, science and technology... Each field plays an important role in socialist industrialization and has a major influence upon the national economy. The trade unions in these sectors must, in exact accordance with their function and task, make every effort to educate, mobilize and organize manual workers and civil servants so that they exercise their right of collective ownership and perform the tasks assigned to them well, thereby making worthy contributions to the industrialization of the country.

One pressing task that the trade unions have is that of taking positive steps to build the corps of workers. Because, without a working class, there can be no socialist industrialization, no modern industry. Under the leadership of the party, the trade unions must, together with the agencies of the state, work out plans to build and develop the corps of workers, plans that correspond to the plans for socio-economic development, so that the corps of workers is fully capable of undertaking the tasks of industrialization and is worthy of being the leading force, the powerful corps of socialist industrialization.

As part of building the corps of workers, the trade unions must, in conjunction with raising the socialist awareness and the sense of socialist collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants, give very much attention to stabilizing and gradually improving the standard of living and

the health of manual workers and civil servants. In recent years, with the participation of the trade unions, our party and state have taken steps to stabilize the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants. However, prices and the market are unstable and the real wages of manual workers and civil servants are not sufficient to replenish the energies expended in labor. We must take determined and urgent steps to implement the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee on prices, wages and money and stabilize the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants. In the immediate future as well as over the long range, we must consider labor to be the most important factor in the reproduction process and consider investments in human resources to be the most effective investments we can make. During the years following the October Revolution, Soviet Russia experienced countless difficulties and an extremely acute relationship existed between production and the needs of everyday life. Lenin asserted that the key to breaking this vicious cycle was to keep factories in operation. And, to keep factories in operation, Lenin maintained that "the foremost task is to save the laborer. Mankind's most important production force is the worker, the laborer. If they survive, we will be able to save and restore everything."(3)

Along with accelerating production and raising labor productivity, we must correct the income disparities within enterprises and economic units, implement a policy of strict austerity, correctly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and correctly implement the policies on wages and bonuses so that wages and bonuses truly provide the worker with incentive to work hard, consciously maintain labor discipline, be enthused about making innovations, making technological improvements and rationalizing production and criticize and stop waste, embezzlement, the practice of profiting by trickery, abuse of personal position, theft of public property and concern only for furthering the interests of the individual or unit at the expense of the state and collective.

In view of the fact that material life is still difficult, it is even more necessary that the trade unions give their attention to improving the spiritual lives of manual workers and civil servants. Cultural activities, literature and art, physical culture and sports, trips, tourism and wholesome amusement and entertainment will surely have the effects of teaching and cultivating love of the fatherland and love of socialism among manual workers and civil servants and encourage them to engage in spirited emulation and complete their tasks well.

Socialist industrialization is a very large, weighty and glorious undertaking. The success of socialist industrialization will create for our country a modern industry, a modern agriculture, a progressive culture, advanced science and technology and a powerful national defense system with new socialist persons, with an increasingly large, solid and strong working class. Achieving success in this undertaking is not only the responsibility of we who are living now, but also the responsibility of those who will be living in the future, of many generations to come. It is the decisive factor in guaranteeing the everlasting victory of socialism.

As they march forward under the banner of the party, let the working class and trade union movement prove themselves worthy of this glorious undertaking.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, pp 62-63.
2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 40, p 350.
3. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 38, p 430.

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PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH: A SUMMARY CHRONOLOGY (FROM 14 AUGUST 1945 TO 20 DECEMBER 1946)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 18-25

[Chronology compiled by The Tap]

[Text] 14 and 15 August 1945: a national conference of the party meets in Tan Trao in Tuyen Quang Province under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and Truong Chinh.(1) The conference decides that it is necessary to promptly lead the entire population in a general uprising to seize political power throughout the country.

16 and 17 August 1945: a national congress chaired by Ho Chi Minh meets in the Tan Trao Village communal house. The congress endorses the decision made by the party concerning a general uprising, approves the uprising order of the Viet Minh High Command, adopts a national flag and national emblem and appoints the Vietnam National Liberation Commission, that is the provisional government, with Ho Chi Minh serving as president.

28 August 1945: at night, President Ho holds an informal meeting with all men and women in the Tan Trao base area. He informs them that the capital Hanoi has been liberated and bids them farewell before leaving for Hanoi the next day.

25 August 1945: President Ho Chi Minh travels from Tan Trao to Hanoi, resting for a short time at the home of a peasant family in Ga Village (Phu Gia Village, Tu Liem District).

26 August 1945: Truong Chinh welcomes President Ho to the inner city at number 48 Hang Ngang Street. President Ho immediately convenes and presides over the first session of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee to discuss a number of urgent tasks.

27 August 1945: President Ho holds an informal meeting with the ministers of the provisional government at the Bac Bo Presidential Palace.

Late August 1945: at number 48 Hang Ngang Street, President Ho drafts the Declaration of Independence. One morning, he invites Truong Chinh and a number of others to approve the historic declaration.

2 September 1945: in Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi, at a meeting attended by more than 500,000 fellow countrymen, President Ho reads the Declaration of Independence.

3 September 1945: President Ho holds the first formal meeting with the ministers of the provisional government at the Bac Bo Presidential Palace. He presents the six most urgent problems being faced to the Council of Ministers for their discussion, decisions and action.

5 September 1945: President Ho issues a national appeal to his fellow countrymen to be vigilant against French forces and await an order to fight.

8 September 1945: President Ho signs the General Elections Decree.

15 September 1945: President Ho sends a letter to the students of the entire country on the occasion of the first opening day of school of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

17 September 1945: President Ho sends a letter to the teenagers and children of the entire country on the occasion of the first Mid-Autumn Tet celebrated in independence.

On the same day, President Ho, through a letter, appeals to his fellow countrymen to enthusiastically support "Gold Week."

20 September 1945: President Ho signs the decree establishing the Commission for the Drafting of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

21 September 1945: President Ho sends a letter to elders appealing to them to establish and join the National Salvation Elders Association.

22 September 1945: the first night of the Mid-Autumn Tet, President Ho addresses teenagers and children.

23 September 1945: President Ho and the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee keep very closely abreast of the fighting in Nam Bo, receive the first reports and issue the first resistance war directives to the party organization and fellow countrymen of Nam Bo.

25 September 1945: President Ho presides over a meeting of the Council of Ministers to discuss the issues of relief aid, the war of resistance in Nam Bo and relations with France.

26 September 1945: following 3 days of hostilities in Nam Bo instigated by the French colonialists, President Ho appeals over the radio to his fellow countrymen in Nam Bo to fight with determination to defend the independence of the country.

28 September 1945: in the face of the serious and prolonged famine caused by the Japanese fascists, President Ho presents to the Council of Ministers

necessary measures that must be taken and, in a message to his fellow countrymen, appeals to them to love and assist one another, to share food and clothing.

One day in September 1945, President Ho meets with the command of the Chiang Kai-shek army. He refuses to supply additional rice to them. He reminds the members of his staff of the need to be patient, to maintain detente with the forces of Chiang Kai-shek in order to concentrate on the main enemy, the French colonialists.

3 October 1945: President Ho signs the decree abolishing all public offices and agencies of the French colonialists.

4 October 1945: President Ho writes a letter appealing for efforts to combat illiteracy.

12 October 1945: President Ho sends a letter congratulating and encouraging industrialists and merchants to establish the National Salvation Organization of Industrialists and Merchants and join the Viet Minh Front.

14 October 1945: President Ho, on behalf of the government, sends a letter thanking the Catholic bishops and countrymen in Vinh, Ha Tinh and Quang Binh for their letter to the government expressing the determination of Catholics to participate in national construction.

17 October 1945: over Voice of Vietnam Radio, President Ho reads the message sent to U.S. President Truman stating how the allies had betrayed France by turning over political power in Indochina to the Japanese.

On the same day, President Ho sends a letter to the regional, provincial, district and village people's committees advising the administration cadres on the various levels to make every effort to fulfill their responsibilities to the people.

18 October 1945: President Ho sends a letter conveying his regards to the compatriots of Laos freed from the occupation of their country, the control of their government and the oppression of their people by lackeys of the Chiang Kai-shek army.

19 October 1945: on behalf of our government, President Ho sends a message to the Pan-African Conference being held in Manchester, England, expressing appreciation for the resolution of the conference supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese against the French colonialist aggressors.

20 October 1945: President Ho sends a letter to the Frenchmen in Indochina expressing the good will of the Vietnamese toward honest-minded Frenchmen.

24 October 1945: President Ho presides over a Council of Ministers' meeting to discuss the contents of our country's Constitution.

27 October 1945: at the Bac Bo Presidential Palace, President Ho receives representatives of Vietnamese, French, Chinese and American newspapers and

responds to questions by them concerning the following issues: the promulgation of the Constitution, the election of the National Assembly, the relations between Vietnam and France...

29 October 1945: President Ho sends a letter praising the heroic fighting spirit of the compatriots of Nam Bo.

2 November 1945: President Ho receives a number of journalists of daily newspapers and expresses his thoughts on the 12-point foreign policy statement delivered by U.S. President Truman on 28 October 1945. He confirms Vietnam's legitimate right to independence.

5 November 1945: President Ho sends a letter to overseas Vietnamese in France congratulating them on their patriotic activities and appealing to them to try to give the people of the world, especially the people of France, a clear understanding of the just struggle of our people.

7 November 1945: President Ho receives a delegation from the Association of Vietnamese Catholics for National Salvation and talks about the policy of religious freedom and unity among the compatriots of the various religions.

14 November 1945: President Ho writes the article "Talented Persons and National Construction" (printed in CUU QUOC Newspaper, No 1, 14 November 1945). He appeals to all talented persons of the country to enthusiastically participate in national construction.

15 November 1945: President Ho attends the graduating ceremony for the fifth class of the Vietnam Cadre Training School.

19 November 1945: President Ho presides over a session of the Council of Ministers to discuss commendations for soldiers who die for the fatherland, discuss the protection of historic ruins, etc.

22 November 1945: President Ho signs the decree defining the organization of the people's councils and the administrative committees on the various levels.

25 November 1945: as a representative of the Viet Minh Front, President Ho meets with Nguyen Hai Than, representing the Vietnam Revolutionary League, and Vu Hong Khanh, representing the Vietnam Nationalist Party, to discuss the issue of unity.

3 December 1945: President Ho presides over the Conference of Delegates of Ethnic Minorities of Vietnam...

15 December 1945: President Ho writes a letter thanking the compatriots of Hanoi for asking him to be a candidate for election in Hanoi.

21 December 1945: as a candidate for election in Hanoi, President Ho discusses the objective and significance of the upcoming general election.

On the same day, on behalf of the government, President Ho signs the decree establishing the National Construction Plan Research Commission.

22 December 1945: President Ho sends a letter of consolation to the soldiers in the South.

24 December 1945: on behalf of the Viet Minh Front, President Ho meets with representatives of the Vietnam Revolutionary League and the Vietnam Nationalist Party and arrives at an agreement, a commitment to place the independence of the fatherland above everything else, place unity above everything else, that both sides must support the National Assembly general election and the war of resistance for national salvation and immediately cease all attacks, in word and action, upon one another.

25 December 1945: on the occasion of the first Christmas celebrated in independence and freedom, President Ho sends greetings to Catholic priests and compatriots.

1 January 1946: the provisional government of which President Ho is president, holds a ceremony to present itself to the public at Le Grande Theater Square in Hanoi. President Ho reads a statement defining the domestic and foreign policies of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

5 January 1946: President Ho appeals to the people of the entire country to vote and select persons worthy of undertaking the affairs of state.

6 January 1946: President Ho casts his ballot in the election of the first National Assembly of our country at the ballot box on Bac Ninh Street (now Nguyen Huu Huan Street), Hanoi. He then visits a number of polling places on Hang Bac, Hang Gai and Hang Trong Streets and in a number of villages in the outskirts of the city.

On the same day, President Ho speaks with a special correspondent of RESISTANCE Newspaper and expresses the determination of our people to resist the French colonialist aggressors.

7 January 1946: President Ho attends and addresses the opening class of the self-defense cadre school bearing his name.

18 January 1946: President Ho meets with a number of comrades sent by the government to work in Nam Bo.

21 January 1946: on the occasion of the first New Year's Tet celebrated in independence, President Ho appeals to the compatriots of the entire country to share the joy of Tet with soldiers on the front, the families of soldiers and the poor.

He also sends a letter to the youths and children of the entire nation, appealing to them to enthusiastically participate in building the "new life" movement.

1 February 1946: 30th day of the 12th month of the year of At Dau): President Ho visits and celebrates Tet with a number of families in Hanoi.

2 February 1946 (1st day of the 1st month of the year of Binh Tuat): President Ho wishes happy New Year to the members of the Central Police Force; receives delegations arriving to wish him happy New Year; goes to wish happy New Year to wounded soldiers receiving medical treatment at the hospital, etc.

2 March 1946: President Ho attends the first session of the 1st National Assembly. At this historic session, the National Assembly unanimously elects him president of the resistance war coalition government and charges President Ho with forming the new government.

5 March 1946: President Ho holds negotiations with Sainteny and Pignon concerning the contents of the Preliminary Franco-Viet Treaty.

On the same day, President Ho meets with a French delegation to discuss Franco-Viet relations. He confirms our people's stand that France must recognize the independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

6 March 1946: on behalf of our government, President Ho signs with representatives of the French government the Preliminary Franco-Viet Treaty.

7 March 1946: in the morning, at the Bac Bo Presidential Palace, President Ho receives Sainteny on a visit on behalf of the French government. In the afternoon, President Ho attends a large meeting at the Le Grande Theater Square in Hanoi and explains why we signed the preliminary treaty with France.

9 March 1946: at city hall, President Ho meets with the zone and company self-defense commanders of the city. He points out that although the Preliminary Franco-Viet Treaty has been signed, we must always be vigilant, heighten the spirit of resistance of all the people, build our forces, be ready to deal with every eventuality...

10 March 1946: President Ho sends a letter to the compatriots and soldiers of Nam Bo explaining the accord reached between our government and the government of France.

11 March 1946: President Ho appeals in a letter for all fellow countrymen to remain calm in the face of the provocative actions of the French colonialists. At the same time, he asks the governments and peoples of the other countries of the world to support our people's just cause.

President Ho also sends a message reminding the French government about holding official negotiations.

24 March 1946: President Ho attends a reception on the cruiser Emil Bertain at anchor in the Gulf of Tonkin at the invitation of the French high commissioner. He demands the immediate opening of official negotiations in the capital of France. d'Argenlieu suggests the need for a preparatory conference in Da Lat.

25 March 1946: President Ho signs the decree organizing the Ministry of National Defense.

27 March 1946: President Ho reminds his fellow countrymen of the need to partake in physical training.

29 March 1946: President Ho signs the decree establishing the press policy.

3 April 1946: President Ho signs the decree establishing the "New Life" Agitation Department of the Central Committee.

5 April 1946: President Ho signs the decree on the issuance of paper money in Vietnam.

7 April 1946: President Ho signs the decree organizing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

13 April 1946: President Ho signs the decree organizing the Ministry of Communications and Public Works.

17 April 1946: President Ho visits an adult education class on Hang Trong Street. He says: "Both the instructor and students alike are soldiers in the fight against ignorance."

On the same day, President Ho bids farewell to our government's delegation attending the Franco-Viet conference in Da Lat. He advises the delegation to "place the Nam Bo issue and the cease fire issue foremost on your agenda."

19 April 1946: President Ho sends a congratulatory message to the Congress of Ethnic Minorities of the South held in Pleiku.

1 May 1946: on the occasion of International Labor Day, President Ho appeals to the working people and patriots of the entire country to strengthen their unity, display a high spirit of diligence and frugality, step up production, etc.

On the same day, President Ho appeals to peasants to establish agricultural cooperatives.

4 May 1946: President Ho sends a letter of encouragement to adult education teachers.

16 May 1946: President Ho sends a message to Admiral d'Argenlieu thanking France for the warm welcome extended to the delegation from the Vietnam National Assembly that visited France.

19 May 1946: at the Bac Bo Presidential Palace, President Ho receives delegations from the party, the National Assembly, the government and the mass organizations coming to wish him a long life.

On the same day, President Ho is interviewed by an AGENCE FRANCE correspondent concerning the discontinuation of the Da Lat Conference.

20 May 1946: President Ho receives d'Argenlieu at the Bac Bo Presidential Palace. d'Argenlieu suggests a delay in the departure of our governments

mission to the official negotiations with the French government. President Ho emphatically rejects this proposal.

27 May 1946: President Ho attends the ceremony marking the opening of the Tran Quoc Tuan Military Academy in Son Tay. He advises students: "Being loyal to the country and filial to the people is a sacred duty, is a heavy responsibility but it is also the honor of the soldier in the first national army of our country."

29 May 1946: President Ho signs the decree organizing the Ministry of Finance.

30 May 1946: President Ho attends a meeting of some 50,000 people of the capital to bid farewell to our government's delegation departing for the official negotiations with the French government. He sets forth four requirements that must be met to help win victory in the diplomatic struggle.

31 May 1946: prior to departing for France, President Ho writes a letter to the compatriots of Nam Bo, which reads in part: "The compatriots of Nam Bo are citizens of Vietnam. The rivers might run dry, the mountains might crumble but this truth will never change."

From June to September 1946, while in France, President Ho meets with delegations of the Communist Party of France and the various strata of the French people. He meets with representatives of overseas Vietnamese, many important persons and intellectuals, a number of leaders of the various political parties in France... Through propaganda, he brings to light the just struggle of our people, wins the sympathy and support of the people of France and enhances the prestige of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the international arena.

14 September 1946: due to the obstinate and bellicose attitude of the French colonialists, the Fontainebleau Conference ends in failure. President Ho signs the Provisional Accord with the French government to gain time to prepare for the war of resistance.

18 September 1946: President Ho leaves France for home on the ship Dumont d'Urville.

20 October 1946: the compatriots of Haiphong welcome President Ho upon his safe and healthy return following more than 4 months far from the fatherland.

21 October 1946: President Ho returns to the capital Hanoi.

23 October 1946: President Ho reports to the compatriots of the entire country on the results of his visit to France.

30 October 1946: at the second session of the National Assembly, on behalf of the government, President Ho responds to questions asked by a number of National Assembly deputies concerning the foreign policy of the government, the signing of the 14 September Provisional Accord...

31 October 1946: President Ho, on behalf of the provisional government, declares the resignation of the government and returns power to the National Assembly. The National Assembly unanimously charges him with forming a new government.

3 November 1946: President Ho reports the formation of a new government to the National Assembly and presents the new government's agenda.

4 November 1946: at the Bac Bo Presidential Palace, President Ho receives Morliere, commander-in-chief of the French army in Indochina, and Nyon, chief of the French military mission, to discuss the establishment of a joint Franco-Viet military commission to implement and oversee the cease fire in Nam Bo.

5 November 1946: President Ho and the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee meet to review the struggle being waged by our people on the political, military and diplomatic fronts. He observes: it will be very difficult for our people to avoid a war unleashed by French colonialists. President Ho writes an important document, "The Urgent Tasks of the Moment," in which he sets forth the basic prerequisites needed to deal with the possible situations that could occur and the policy of waging a war of resistance while building the country...

9 November 1946: the National Assembly ratifies the official Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. President Ho delivers a speech on this Constitution.

16 November 1946: President Ho send to the government of France a letter protesting the unilateral establishment by France of a customs duty and foreign trade control office in Haiphong.

17 November 1946: President Ho rejects d'Argenlieu's gross distortions of facts concerning the Nam Bo administrative committees.

24 November 1946: the French colonialists move to take complete occupation of Haiphong. President Ho appeals to the French authorities in Vietnam to immediately stop the bloodshed among Frenchmen and Vietnamese and appeals to all fellow countrymen to remain calm, to all troops and self-defense forces to be ready to defend the sovereignty of the fatherland.

26 November 1946: the French colonialists intensify their provocation at many places. President Ho leaves Hanoi and temporarily moves to Canh Village in Hoai Duc District to live and work.

3 December 1946: from Canh Village, President Ho travels to the Bac Bo Presidential Palace to meet with Sainteny upon his arrival from France. He demands that the French government order the French army units in Haiphong and Lang Son to withdraw to the positions they held before the conflict broke out.

At 1930 hours, a number of comrades welcome him to Van Phuc Village in Ha Dong Province (present day Ha Son Binh Province) to rest.

7 December 1946: President Ho appeals to the National Assembly and government of France to order the French authorities in Vietnam to withdraw their forces to the positions they occupied prior to 20 November in order to implement the 14 September Provisional Accord. He reminds them of the sincere desire on the part of the Vietnamese to cooperate with the people of France...

8 December 1946: President Ho travels to Hanoi to meet with the director of the Asia Department of the U.S. Department of State.

On the same day, President Ho is interviewed by a correspondent of PARIS-SAIGON Newspaper. He says: "My fellow countrymen and I desire peace, truly desire peace. We do not want a war and I know that the people of France do not want a war, either. However, if they force us, we must resist. The fight will be bitter but the Vietnamese are ready to suffer everything except the loss of their freedom."

13 December 1946: President Ho sends a diplomatic note to the government of France and d'Argenlieu protesting the illegal landing in Da Nang by 800 French legionnaires.

18 December 1946: President Ho meets with the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee, assesses the situation and issues new policies. Prior to that meeting, he sent Nguyen Luong Bang to Viet Bac to make preparations for moving the leadership organizations of the party and state there when necessary.

19 December 1946: President Ho awakens very early and works in an urgent manner. He writes a letter to the French government and asks that it be delivered immediately. At 1200 hours, President Ho learns that Sainteny would not receive the courier bearing his letter and that the French command had delivered an ultimatum to us demanding that we disarm urban self-defense forces, cease all resistance activities and turn over to them the maintenance of security within the cities.

Throughout the afternoon, President Ho, instead of resting, diligently works and prepares documents.

At 1430 hours, he meets with a number of members of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee. The meeting concludes at 1515 hours. President Ho continues writing and finishes the Appeal to the Entire Nation To Wage a War of Resistance.

During the night, President Ho and others assist in the relocation of Van Phuc Village to a new site.

20 December 1946: President Ho moves to Xuyen Duong Village, Thanh Oai District in former Ha Dong Province to live and work. He broadcasts over the radio the Appeal to the Entire Nation To Wage a War of Resistance:

"We desire peace and have made concessions. But, the more we have made concessions, the further the French colonialists have gone because they are determined to take our country from us once again.

No! We would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved.

Fellow countrymen! We must rise up!..."

FOOTNOTES

1. President Ho, although suffering from a fever and not in good health, still closely followed developments at the conference and tried to attend the concluding session. Truong Chinh (who was then using the name Nhan), general secretary of the party, presided over the conference.

7809

CSO: 4210/1

HANOI'S UPRISING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 26-33

[Article by Colonel General Nguyen Quyet]

[Text] Part I

The revolutionary movement in Hanoi encountered major difficulties following the insane and brutal acts of terror committed by the French colonialists in 1939 and 1940.

In 1941 and 1942, Hoang Van Thu, member of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee, personally guided efforts to restore the movement. However, because Hanoi was the nerve center of the ruling apparatus of the imperialists and their lackeys, they made Hanoi the target of an intense campaign of terror. The leadership agencies of the Hanoi party organization were constantly attacked by the enemy. Not one party affairs section or party committee conducted activities for more than 6 months.

In early 1943, the worker movement was crushed and Hoang Van Thu was arrested and then executed at Tuong Mai. A small number of party members remained but they had lost all means of maintaining liaison with one another. Contacts with the mass base among workers and youths were sparse. The movement in Hanoi was weak and experiencing a difficult period.

However, despite these difficulties and with unshakeable confidence in the victory of the revolution, in the revolutionary masses, the Party Central Committee and the regional party committee remained determined to strengthen and maintain the leadership and develop the revolutionary movement in Hanoi because it was the nerve center of the enemy. I was then transferred from the Hung Yen Provincial Party Committee where I was working to the Hanoi Party Affairs Section. At first, I operated in secrecy. Although the task assigned to me by the regional party committee was to conduct agitation among workers in the inner city and the city's outskirts, my immediate job was to build a secret and secure base in the outskirts of the city. It was not until later that I was introduced to and established liaison with Le Quang Dao, secretary of the Party Affairs Section and the man in charge of youth within the inner city.

My first job back then was to rebuild the base in the city's outskirts--which had previously been the safe haven of the Party Central Committee. Drawing upon the experience gained on previous occasions (when we had no base and could not maintain secrecy), we began this time by establishing a foothold, by building a base in the city's outskirts in order to create the conditions for moving into the inner city. The main requirement in the task of building a base in the inner city was the need to focus efforts on building and consolidating a base among manual workers and overcoming the lack of confidence in the working class that existed then. While putting this base together, every effort had to be made to maintain the secrecy of my movements and whereabouts. I established contacts with a number of party members who were workers and merchants who travelled back and forth between the inner city and the city's outskirts. Gradually, we reorganized the worker party chapters within the inner city. With the release from prison of a number of cadres on 9 March 1945, the leadership forces of the party in Hanoi were strengthened. Then, we rebuilt the National Salvation Association of Workers at the sawmill, the laundry powder plant and the tennis shoe factory and then at the printing enterprise, the water works, the power station, the AVIA and STAI Motor Works, the Gia Lam Locomotive Works... Restored after awhile, the national salvation worker movement gradually developed at other enterprises. The Hanoi Municipal Party Committee decided to launch the masses in struggle through suitable forms of activity and practical demands, such as the demand that they be able to buy rice, the demand that they be issued cloth and soap coupons...and eventually demands for higher wages and the payment of wages each Saturday afternoon. More highly developed forms were the continuous work stoppages and strikes that steadily grew in size and spread from only a few places to a number of important Franco-Japanese factories and enterprises of that time. The most intense of these strikes was the strike by the entire sawmill sector. This large strike was directly guided by the worker agitation sector of the regional party committee. Although the bosses called in Japanese troops to suppress them, workers won a victory in their 9-day strike. The scattered struggles that were taking place began to unify the forces of each sector, thus leading to higher forms of struggle and creating a new strength. Deserving of attention is that at the time that the terrible famine was occurring in Bac Bo and Trung Bo, which included Hanoi and the provinces of Thai Binh, Hung Yen, Nam Dinh and so forth, our party promptly adopted the slogan "sack their granaries, alleviate hunger." This was also the main slogan behind the anti-Japanese national salvation movement. This slogan answered the most pressing aspiration of the masses, fueled the flames of hatred of the enemy among the people, mobilized the masses and provided them with practical experience in struggling against the enemy with furious passion in advance of the uprising to seize political power.

In preparation for the uprising, the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee organized self-defense units and sent eager, able-bodied members of the various national salvation mass organizations to military training classes. From the first few scattered self-defense squads, we organized two small units (after political power was seized, these two small units became two national defense units). The raising of funds and the sale of letters of credit to buy weapons to equip the self-defense units were carried out in a secret but urgent manner. In late 1944, the Party Central Committee appealed to the people to "buy weapons and drive off the common enemy." On 22 December 1944, the Vietnam Propaganda

Unit for National Liberation was born, thereby ushering in a new period in the development of our people's armed struggle.

The above situation demanded that Hanoi make preparations very quickly. At that time, however, we could not take the same steps in Hanoi that were being taken in Viet Bac, rather, the basic requirement was that we continue to build strong forces. I was sent by the regional party committee to a 15-day military training class conducted by the committee in Thai Nguyen. The training encompassed two subjects: the directives issued in an uprising and guerrilla tactics.

By the time I returned from training, Le Quang Dao had been transferred elsewhere. I succeeded him as secretary of the municipal party committee and was put directly in charge of military affairs.

Part II

In early 1945, new developments occurred in the international situation. The Soviet Union had reclaimed all of its land that had been occupied and began the attack on the final stronghold of German fascism. In the Pacific, Japan was suffering continuous defeats.

Long before then, our party had predicted that Japan would kick out the French. This prediction came true. At 2025 hours on 9 March 1945, the Japanese opened fire on French barracks within the city, attacking the Don Thuy barracks, the Nha Diem barracks, the Bach Mai airfield barracks, the barracks of the Indochinese Guard...

At 0415 hours on the next day, the French in Hanoi surrendered.

With Japan and France fighting one another, the revolutionary masses were very eager to take action. However, because it had a thorough understanding of the party's resolution, the municipal party committee promptly defined the nature of the overthrow that had taken place and made the assessment that the opportunity for an uprising had not yet developed. It explained this to the basic units, corrected their thinking and, at the same time, began guiding an effort at the various places in the city to take advantage of this situation by taking weapons from the enemy to equip our self-defense units.

During the night of 10 March 1945, taking advantage of the failure on the part of the Japanese to promptly stabilize the situation, the municipal party committee organized a number of propaganda assault youths and sent them out on bicycles and motorbikes to quickly distribute leaflets exposing the Japanese fascists. At the same time, it sent the self-defense forces of the entire city to tear down the notices, which contained nothing but lies and threats, that had been posted by the Japanese everywhere.

New developments occurred. On 12 March 1945, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee issued the famous directive "The Clash Between Japan and France and Our Actions," in which it assessed the situation and set forth our urgent, immediate tasks.

As instructed in the 12 March directive, the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee widely publicized this directive at all basic units and generated a new atmosphere. On this basis, it developed our armed and political forces; took advantage of every opportunity to widely propagandize the line and policies of the Viet Minh; combined political forces with armed forces; conducted intense and bold propaganda efforts and provided the masses with practical training, beginning with spontaneous, secret and semi-public speeches and meetings in the outskirts of the city and gradually staging increasingly large rallies and demonstrations within the inner city. In particular, intense struggles erupted at many large enterprises, all of which were directed against the Japanese fascists and the lackey administration, such as the demonstrations that marched on the offices of the Japanese at the power plant, the water works, the IDEO Printing Plant and the Don Thuy Hospital, where the Japanese fascists had stationed troops.

In early April 1945, in order to give strong impetus to the movement to prepare for the uprising, the municipal party committee convened a military conference at the Tan Temple in Thai Do Village for the purposes of unifying the guidance of the self-defense forces of the entire city and discussing plans to step up the development of self-defense units and assault propaganda units so that they could serve as the central force and lend support to such political struggles as speeches, the effort to eliminate spies, the effort to build the base of the National Salvation Associations and the self-defense units...

This was followed by assault propaganda units infiltrating lectures at the Industrial Skills School, the Thang Long School and the Van Lang School and delivering speeches, putting up posters and hanging flags on the Bo Ho-Ha Dong, Cau Giay and Kim Lien streetcars. National Salvation Youths and National Salvation Women organized meetings at the Lang Temple, at Buoi, Nga Tu Vong and Nga Tu So.

The response by the Japanese pirates was maniacal. They prowled the streets at night, strung barbed wire across intersections and searched and arrested thousands of persons, whom they sent to be mercilessly beaten at Japanese military police headquarters (the Shell Oil Building). However, the brutal actions of the Japanese fascists did not cause the revolutionary movement to decline, rather, they added oil to the fire and the movement to prepare for the uprising raged like an inferno. The assault propaganda units continued to stage infiltrations and deliver speeches at places under siege by guards and even in view of Japanese officers.

The municipal party committee's policy on sacking granaries in order to alleviate hunger among the people was designed to have two effects: to provide the masses with practical training in face to face struggle with the enemy and to benefit the masses in a practical way. The masses responded enthusiastically. They arose and sacked the granaries of the Japanese in Moc Quan Nhan Village, on Bac Ninh Street and then sacked the Pha Den and Lo Lon Granaries. On the road running along the river bank, manual workers and laboring people, taking action on their own, seized rice being transported on oxcarts and fought back against Japanese escort troops. At the same time, the municipal party committee also decided to advance the political struggles of

the masses to new stages of development. Two large meetings in Me Tri and the Canh Market were attended by thousands of persons.

The municipal party committee also made a decision to disrupt the meetings of the enemy, such as the specious meeting held at the botanical gardens by the Dai Viet Group to remember Nguyen Thai Hoc. There, we shouted to the masses to turn the enemy's meeting into a meeting to express support for the Viet Minh and make a show of revolutionary force right before the enemy's eyes. These were quite effective forms of struggle.

To support the movement to prepare for the uprising, the Party Central Committee, the regional party committee and the municipal party committee also decided to warn Vietnamese traitors and eliminate leading reactionaries, such as Sinh, Long, Nga Thanh Huong... On the other hand, we also developed national salvation agents among the enemy's security troops and police. Many police sympathized with the Viet Minh. They told us in advance of searches and arrests, guided us through blockades and frequently rendered the Japanese and their lackeys blind.

At this point, the municipal party committee had the self-defense units reconnoiter the enemy situation and draw up diagrams of Japanese garrisons, military zones and important places within the city of Hanoi. It intensified the military training of self-defense units and prepared combat plans for the uprising.

News of the establishment of a revolutionary administration in the liberated zone and the surrounding provinces affected Hanoi. The government organization of the enemy in the outskirts of the city had begun to fall apart. In many villages, the Viet Minh had taken the seal of the village chief and was performing the work of the people. In the Buoi and Nghia Do areas, provisional revolutionary administrations had been established. At many other places, national salvation organizations were undertaking each public job.

From late June 1945 onward, the revolutionary movement in Hanoi developed more strongly and became more widespread with each passing day. The contingent of core cadres became a solid and strong contingent. The basic elements of the masses were organized within national salvation mass organizations. The revolutionary movement steadily developed among manual workers, peasants, youths, women, intellectuals and students and then spread to public officials, national bourgeoisie and their children.

Applying the directive of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee and the regional party committee to the specific circumstances of Hanoi, the municipal party committee brought about a leap forward in the development of the once weak revolutionary movement within the locality and put it on the same momentum as the movement in the rest of the country.

Part III

Only a few days after declaring war on Japan, the Soviet Union defeated the highly seasoned Kwandong Army of the Japanese fascists. On 10 August 1945,

news of Japan's surrender to the allies quickly spread among the people of Hanoi.

In Hanoi, the Japanese tried to conceal this news. They placed more guards everywhere, set up machine guns at the water works, the power plant, the acetylene plant, the post office, the silver depository...and patrolled the streets throughout the night in tanks and armored vehicles.

On 13 August, the Party Central Committee convened a national cadre conference in Tan Trao. The Hanoi Municipal Party Committee sent a number of delegates to attend this historic conference.

While the Tan Trao conference was in session, news of local uprisings at many places was received in Hanoi. The mass movement to prepare for the uprising grew stronger with each day. On the basis of the 12 March directive of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee, our municipal party committee stressed: whereas it was correct for us to guide the Hanoi movement when it was still weak in a way suited to the locality, a way different from the approach taken in Viet Bac, the revolutionary forces in Hanoi had now developed in both size and quality, in both breadth and depth, objective and subjective conditions for the uprising had fully developed and an opportunity that only arises once in 1,000 years had emerged. It would, therefore, be a serious mistake to not take prompt and swift action to seize this opportunity. To quickly seize this opportunity, we had to struggle against and overcome the thinking of relying upon and waiting for liberation forces to arrive from Viet Bac. We had to have confidence in our own strength, had to stage an uprising to seize political power in Hanoi using the forces of Hanoi and, as President Ho Chi Minh instructed: "Liberate ourselves by means of our own forces." (1) The municipal party committee urgently summoned the cadres in charge of the self-defense units and assault propaganda forces to an extraordinary military conference at the Ha Temple to review the status of our forces and discuss plans for seizing political power in Hanoi.

The conferees asserted that we had to rely upon the self-defense forces and make them the nucleus of our efforts while utilizing the revolutionary masses to overwhelm the enemy so that political power could be seized. While they did not set the specific day and hour for the start of the uprising, the conferees unanimously agreed on the need to quickly carry out the following three jobs:

1. Organizing speeches throughout the wards and the outskirts of the city to spread the news of Japan's surrender and exhort the masses to participate in the uprising;
2. Organizing meetings and displaying the flag and banners in order to test the attitude of the Japanese;
3. Preparing the corps and equipping with additional weapons in order to deal with the Japanese should they take steps to suppress the revolution.

On 15 August 1945, the Japanese, in a state of panic, declared their unconditional surrender. In Hanoi, the Japanese fascists began withdrawing

all of their forces from the enterprises and wards to defend their barracks. White flags were raised over Japanese garrisons.

Also on 15 August, at a conference of the regional party committee, it was decided to launch uprisings in the other provinces within the Bac Ky region as it existed then, but a decision was not made to launch the uprising in Hanoi.

On 16 August, Nguyen Khang, under instructions from the regional party committee, travelled to Hanoi and convened a meeting with the municipal party committee and a number of other cadres to brief them on a report received from the Viet Minh Zone Committee. After analyzing the objective and subjective situations, we unanimously agreed to launch the uprising in Hanoi and immediately established the Revolutionary Military Committee to guide the uprising. The Revolutionary Military Committee consisted of five persons and was headed by Nguyen Khang, who served as its chairman. I was put in charge of military activities. The conferees thoroughly analyzed the fully developed conditions that existed for the uprising and stressed the immediate need to intensify the political struggle and take more thorough advantage of the panic that existed among the Japanese fascists and the rout of the puppet army. The conferees also decided to convene an enlarged cadre conference that night to review the status of forces and discuss plans for the uprising.

As the debate at the conference held that night continued past midnight, news was received that the Federation of Civil Servants had held a meeting at the Le Grande Theater that evening to exhort the masses to support the lackey government and ask the Japanese to restore independence. At the time, the lackeys were displaying an obstinate attitude and wanted to delay the uprising by revolutionary forces and await the arrival of the allies to establish a pro-British and pro-American government in order to oppose the revolution. Some leaders of the other political parties wanted to seize political power, make a deal with the Japanese for weapons and oppose the Viet Minh.

The conferees discussed ways to break up the meetings of the enemy, expose their lies and turn these meetings into meetings of ours, such as the meeting that was held on the preceding day at Nung Mountain. This time, we decided to use the two self-defense units as the nucleus in the major struggle.

On the evening of 17 August, the national salvation mass organizations within the inner city and the city's outskirts secretly mobilized tens of thousands of persons to attend a meeting. The self-defense and assault propaganda units had been deployed for the meeting and were ready as planned.

Just as the meeting began, a huge red flag with a gold star was suddenly raised aloft. Loud shouts of approval immediately arose from the masses. Tens and hundreds of new flags appeared. The police and security troops who were keeping watch on the meeting stood in shocked silence. At that very moment, our assault propaganda unit took the rostrum, reported that Japan had surrendered, propagandized the national salvation line of the Viet Minh and exhorted the people to topple the pro-Japanese lackey government and prepare to participate in the uprising. The masses applauded and shouted: "Long live the Viet Minh!"

Then, tens of thousands of persons spontaneously lined up in row after row behind the red flag with the gold star and marched behind soldiers of the Viet Minh from the Le Grande Theater through Trang Tien to Bo Ho, shouting as they marched "Up with the Viet Minh," "Down with the Lackey Government," "Total Independence for Vietnam"... Persons on both sides of the street joined the demonstration, making it even larger. Some policemen and security troops who had timidly withdrawn to the sidewalks also joined the demonstrators. The demonstration continued in this manner up Hang Dao, Hang Ngang and Dong Xuan Streets and then turned at the North Gate to the Residence of the Governor General (where the headquarters of the Japanese forces was located) and then back to the South Gate before disbanding.

This display of strength was a heavy blow to the lackey government and the political parties that were the lackeys of the Japanese fascists. The Bao Ky consultative conference, which was being held that evening with the aim of taking steps against the uprising of Hanoi, was also forced by the power of the revolutionary masses to break up without achieving any results.

On the night of 17 August, the Revolutionary Military Committee resumed its enlarged cadre conference amidst the atmosphere of excitement following the demonstration that had occurred that evening. The conferees decided to launch a mass uprising throughout the city to seize political power, employ violent political force and mobilize all the people, their nucleus being the self-defense and assault propaganda units, to take occupation of the important places within the inner city, with the two self-defense units being sent into combat at two key places, the residence of the imperial envoy and the garrison of the security forces.

As for the timing of the uprising, the conferees felt that it should be launched immediately. If it were delayed, the seething, expectant spirit of the masses might subside. However, if the start of the uprising were set for 18 August, there would not be enough time to mobilize forces. The best date for the start of the uprising was 19 August. It was estimated that roughly 100,000 or more persons could be mobilized for the effort to seize political power. Persons would even be mobilized and sent into the city from Gia Lam and the outskirts of Hanoi. We had to guard against the lackey government, especially the leaders of the Dai Viet and Nationalist Parties, causing difficulties for the revolution by relying upon the Japanese. As regards Japanese forces, we had to render them immobile but did not consider taking occupation of their barracks. In Hanoi at that time was the general headquarters of Japan's 38th Military Corps commanded by General Ui-xu Xu-si-ba-si [Vietnamese phonetics]. It was not until 21 August that his order to the Japanese army to cease fire was obeyed. Therefore, the Revolutionary Military Committee worked out a plan to deploy forces in advance in order to be ready to deal with Japanese forces should they stubbornly resist Vietnam's revolution.

On the morning of 18 August, the Revolutionary Military Committee moved its headquarters from the outskirts of the city to the house at number 101 Gambetta Street (now Tran Hung Dao Street) in order to directly guide the uprising.

Hanoi was in a frenzy of activity preparing for the uprising, leaflets and posters were being posted everywhere... At many printing plants, workers worked throughout the night printing leaflets. At many factories and public offices, manual workers and civil servants, instead of showing up for work, remained at home and went to buy weapons or learned revolutionary songs.

Also on the evening of 18 August, workers at the AVIA Motor Works, having fastened a Viet Minh flag to an automobile of the Japanese that was at the plant, took the automobile to pick up weapons in Gia Lam. As they were crossing the Long Bien Bridge, they were detained by Japanese troops. When the uprising committee heard this news, it mobilized thousands of manual workers, youths and other people and organized a march on the headquarters of the Japanese army on Pham Ngu Lao Street demanding the release of the workers and weapons. The back and forth struggle lasted until midnight. The Japanese were forced to give in and release both the workers and the weapons.

At dawn on 19 August, the red flag with gold star flew over Hanoi. More than 200,000 persons, a vast sea of humanity representing every strata of the people of Hanoi, poured into the streets to start the uprising, their revolutionary spirit as strong as the power of a typhoon.

Following a large meeting held at the municipal theater to hear the appeal of the uprising committee, the revolutionary masses were divided in half and sent in two different directions to occupy the residence of the imperial envoy and the garrison of the security forces.

The struggle at the security force garrison, which housed the command of the puppet forces in Bac Bo at that time, proved to be the most difficult incident. At the garrison were more than 1,000 fully armed troops. When revolutionary forces marched on the garrison, Thu, the grade 3 civil servant in command of the garrison, attempted to resist. In the face of our determination and resourcefulness, Thu had no choice but to surrender. Just then, Japanese forces rumbled up in tanks, surrounded our revolutionary forces and demanded that they lay down their weapons.

Should we fight them or not?

We relied upon the power of the large masses, the nucleus of whom were armed forces, and displayed the steadfast spirit of a victor: on the one hand, we used the power of the masses to attack these enemy forces; on the other hand, we employed reason and explained to them how senseless it would be for an army that has already been defeated to shed more blood. We struck directly at the weakening morale of the Japanese: they wanted to live in order to rejoin their wives and children. The courageous, closed ranks struggle, the test of strength and battle of wills with the Japanese lasted from midday until the evening. In the end, the Japanese were forced to withdraw their forces.

By the evening of 19 August, practically all of the important agencies of the lackey government had fallen into the hands of the revolutionary masses. By the time that the representatives of Hanoi who attended the Tan Trao conference returned home, the uprising in Hanoi had achieved success.

On 21 August 1945, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee arrived in Hanoi from Tan Trao and, together with the municipal party committee, drew lessons from the experience that had been gained in uprising activities and urgently instructed other places to follow Hanoi's example and intensify the general uprising movement to seize political power. It can be said that the victory of the uprising to seize political power in Hanoi was of enormous significance to the entire country in that it strongly encouraged and inspired the municipalities and localities of the entire country to arise in widespread, victorious uprisings.

On 25 August 1945, President Ho returned to Hanoi. After hearing a report, he agreed with the assessments made by Hanoi and the approach it took.

Along with Hanoi, other localities of the country staged victorious uprisings one after the other and put political power into the hands of the people. This amounted to a change in the way that each of we Vietnamese had been living our lives. People who yesterday had been suffocating under the tyrannical rule of the imperialists and feudalists had today arisen and seized political power and begun to build a new life for themselves.

The immediate, urgent tasks of the Hanoi Municipal Party Committee at this time were to thoroughly dismantle the former government, immediately establish the revolutionary administration, guide the organization and management of the newly established revolutionary administration and quickly restore every aspect of life of the municipality to normal. The municipal party committee attached special importance to improving the leadership skills of the various party committee echelons and the corps of cadres and party members; teaching the spirit of revolutionary vigilance and building the patriotism of the people; and developing and strengthening the armed forces in order to protect the newly won gains of the revolution and promptly suppress reactionaries seeking to re-establish themselves and restore the lackey government of the imperialists. The municipal party committee also guided the construction of the Phan Dinh Phung Small Arms Factory, Hanoi's first national defense enterprise.

After the uprising, Hanoi had countless jobs to perform. However, the municipal party committee focused its efforts on the matters of major importance, such as building and strengthening the party and government, strengthening the people's armed forces, overcoming the aftermath of the flooding, accelerating production and looking after the spiritual and material lives of the people. One major requirement that faced the Hanoi party organization was the need to mobilize and unite each patriotic force and build an effective base of support for each position and policy of the Party Central Committee and provisional government. Every revolutionary activity of the people of Hanoi had to be designed to protect the sovereignty and independence of the nation and win time to strengthen the forces of the revolution in every respect. In keeping with party policy, the municipal party committee ordered the cancellation of the long-term debts of the poor, carried out the redistribution of public cropland, implemented the slogan "not one bit of soil lying fallow," fought hunger and wiped out illiteracy among the people. The

independence fund and national defense fund contribution drives and especially "Gold Week," which began on 17 September 1945, had the enthusiastic support of the people.

Amidst an atmosphere of intense hatred of the British and French colonialists who were instigating hostilities in Nam Bo, hundreds of thousands of people in Hanoi took to the streets in a protest demonstration. Thousands of youths signed up to join the southern army and fight the French. In conjunction with the movement to support the war of resistance in the South, the people of Hanoi also defeated the sinister plot of Lu Han, Tieu Van and militaristic generals of Chiang Kai-shek to use lackeys to overthrow our revolutionary administration.

Practically all of Hanoi's armed forces, the nucleus of which was the combat self-defense units of the days preceding the uprising, were upgraded to main force troops. The units of the Liberation Army and the National Defense Army together with the militia and self-defense forces of Hanoi were then given a great honor: to provide security for the solemn meeting held on 2 September at Ba Dinh Square, where President Ho Chi Minh read the Declaration of Independence proclaiming the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap," [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 348.

7809

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A RETROSPECTIVE LOOK AT THE UPRISING TO SEIZE POLITICAL POWER IN HUE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 34-42, 86

[Article by Hoang Anh]

[Text] The municipality of Hue, one of our country's large municipalities, lies in the center of the Trung Bo provinces. For several hundred years, Hue was the original capital of Tay Son and later became the capital of the Nguyen Dynasty. Within the municipality was the palace of an imperial court and a very large support apparatus. After the French colonialists invaded and occupied our country, the office of governor along with the administrative apparatus for the provinces of Trung Bo were established in Hue. After the Japanese fascists kicked out the French and under the pretext of restoring independence to Vietnam, they immediately established in Hue a lackey government with a Japanese Supreme Advisory Council, a government they called the central government of the entire country, and brought in 4,500 troops in order to take occupation of Hue and resupply their forces in the provinces of central Vietnam. In Thua Thien-Hue, as in the other provinces, administrative apparatus were set up on the provincial, municipal and district levels.

Under French colonial rule, the people of Thua Thien-Hue arose along with the rest of the country to fight the enemy and save the country on many different occasions. Following the founding of the party, in the 1930-1931 and 1936-1939 movements, Hue was one of the places where the struggle of the masses was very spirited and intense. The Trung Ky Regional Party Committee was frequently headquartered in Hue. In late 1939, the movement in Thua Thien-Hue was very brutally suppressed by the enemy time and time again. Persons against whom the enemy had some evidence were arrested, brutally tortured, sentenced to prison and either banished to Lao Bao or Buon Ma Thuot or sent to the Hue Prison. Persons against whom the enemy had insufficient evidence were detained at the Dac To, Tra Ke and La Hy concentration camps. Persons who were slightly suspicious were sent into exile in remote districts. By late 1944 and early 1945, the Thua Thien party organization had been reduced to only a number of bases in Phu Loc and Phong Dien Districts and among some of the urban poor and had lost contact with the upper level.

After 9 March 1945, in order to show that they were indeed restoring independence to Vietnam, the Japanese fascists released the persons who had been sent to prisons, concentration camps and exile camps by the French.

During their imprisonment, many of these persons had an opportunity to study and learn the directives and resolutions of the Central Committee concerning the new situation. Therefore, after their release from prison, the majority of these persons wanted to do everything they could to serve the revolution. However, some members of the provisional provincial party committee's leadership organization, being overly cautious, did not want to establish liaison with or assign jobs to those who had just been released from prison. I and a number of other comrades, included among whom were Nguyen Duy Trinh and Nguyen Con, because several pro-Japanese Vietnamese traitors had reported to the Japanese that we were anti-Japanese communists, were taken by the Japanese from the Dac To concentration camp and held for nearly 2 more months at the Quy Nhon Prison before being released.

When I arrived home on 2 May 1946, the majority of the persons who had been released from prison before me were still patiently waiting for a job to be assigned to them. Feeling that this situation could not be allowed to continue, I and a number of persons with whom I was imprisoned and with whom I participated in training classes and struggles in prison, such as Nguyen Dinh and Nguyen Song (from Quang Dien District) and Dang Chau and Tran Lien (from Huong Tra District) discussed this matter and unanimously agreed: "In principle, a party member who loses contact with the party has the tasks of continuing to publicize and propagandize the policies of the party among the masses, enlightening and gradually organizing the masses and gaining their participation in increasingly highly developed forms of struggle. The activities that each of us conducts will show the organization who we are. It is incorrect to do nothing and wait. It would be a worse mistake to sit and wait in the face of the situation that exists now."

Having reached this consensus, we encouraged one another and many other persons as well to establish contact with the bases with which we had previously been familiar, propagandize and publicize the national salvation unity policy of the Viet Minh Front, show everyone the true nature of the Japanese fascists and their cunning schemes, agitate among the masses to join the Viet Minh, support the Viet Minh... During the first week of May, we established liaison with many former bases and organized a number of new bases in the districts of Phong Dien, Quang Dien, Huong Tra and Phu Vang. Through Hoang Tien, a member of the Thua Thien Provisional Party Committee, we reported the results of our work and suggested that the provincial party committee convene a provincial Viet Minh conference attended by representatives of those persons who had been released from prison in order to reach a common assessment of the situation and discuss immediate revolutionary tasks. With the agreement of many members of the provisional provincial party committee, whose secretary was Nguyen Son, a cadre meeting called the Nguyen Tri Phuong Viet Minh Conference was held on 23 May 1945.

In attendance at this conference were the majority of the members of the provisional provincial party committee and the comrades who were active in the locality, who included Nguyen Son, Tran Thanh Tu, Tran Dung, Le Minh, Le Hai, Phan Sung and Hoang Tien. Representing those persons who had recently been released from prison were Le Tu Dong, Nguyen Dinh and Hoang Anh. The conference was held on a boat in the middle of the Cau Hai Swamp. At the time, the Thua Thien Provincial Party Committee had still not established

liaison with the upper level. However, through documents obtained from other provinces and documents that we had committed to memory while in prison, the conferees discussed the situation in light of the directives and resolutions of the Central Committee. After more than 1 week of working, the conferees reached unanimous agreement concerning the following major points:

1. As pointed out in the documents of the Party Central Committee, an uprising to seize political power in Vietnam's revolution would come when allied forces landed or Chinese forces swept across the border and attacked the Japanese in our country. In early May, the German fascists surrendered to the allies. It was possible that Japan might suffer a heavy blow and be forced to surrender. If this occurred, it would provide the best possible opportunity for an uprising. However, regardless of the case, when the opportunity does arise, Thua Thien Province and the municipality of Hue must rise up with the rest of the country and seize political power.
2. Although the situation was very urgent, the mass movement and the organization of the party and the Viet Minh within the province were still very weak, especially among youths, students, civil servants and soldiers. Our urgent task was to make every effort to intensify the movement and expand the Viet Minh organization and the national salvation mass organizations, especially within the municipality of Hue, so that we were prepared to join the rest of the country in the uprising when the opportunity arose.
3. In the districts and within the municipality of Hue, there were many persons who had been released from the prisons of the imperialists but were not participating in any activities. We had to include them in activities because it would be very wasteful to allow such a large force of cadres to do nothing.
4. Our attitude toward the pro-Japanese organizations (such as the New Vietnam Party, the Vietnam Youth Group, the Consultative Assembly, the Constitutional Commission, the Frontline Youth School...) was to denounce these organizations and not join them for any reason. However, within these organizations were many persons who mistakenly thought that they were patriotic organizations. What we had to do was find ways to get close to these persons, open their eyes to the cunning schemes of the Japanese fascists, propagandize and publicize the Viet Minh's national salvation unity policy, agitate among true patriots to join the Viet Minh, expose pro-Japanese Vietnamese traitors and render these pro-Japanese organizations ineffective.
5. The changes that were occurring every hour of every day in both the domestic situation and the world situation demanded that the province's leadership keep abreast of developments. Therefore, it was necessary to immediately move the province's headquarters close to Hue. Having the headquarters located in Phu Loc did not facilitate the effort to keep abreast of the overall situation and also made it difficult to maintain liaison with the province's northern districts.
6. We had to step up the establishment of self-defense units and equip them mainly with spears and swords. An effort had to be organized to search for weapons that had been hidden or left behind by the French when they were

overthrown by the Japanese. We also had to study ways to buy weapons from Japanese soldiers and prepare a number of bases from which to resist the enemy.

7. We appointed a standing committee called the Nguyen Tri Phuong Viet Minh Standing Committee that consisted of five persons: Nguyen Son (secretary), Nguyen Dinh (organization), Hoang Anh (propaganda-training and duty officer), Le Tu Dong (military activities and base areas) and Tran Thanh Tu (in charge of the municipality of Hue). The other members of the executive committee were assigned to strengthen the weak districts and the municipality of Hue.

Two days after the close of the Cau Hai conference, the province's headquarters were moved to Bao Vinh. The members of the Viet Minh Provincial Standing Committee lived and worked on a boat that travelled up and down the river or in the straw hut of To Tuan. The Viet Minh organizations of the districts and the municipality of Hue were strengthened by the addition of a number of members of the provincial executive committee. All of the persons recently released from prison who began participating in activities made every effort to intensify the campaign to have the masses join in the national salvation movement. Wherever the program and rules of the Viet Minh were publicized, the masses welcomed them and were ready to join. Never before had the various strata of the people in Thu Thien-Hue responded to an appeal by the party as quickly as they did then.

While guiding the districts and the municipality of Hue in expanding the movement, the Viet Minh Provincial Standing Committee took direct steps to resolve a number of organizational problems:

In late 1944, a number of civil servants in Hue established liaison with and requested Viet Minh documents from colleagues in Hanoi. On the basis of these documents, they organized a Viet Minh group in Hue consisting of a number of civil servants and students. The head of this group was Nguyen Tan (vice minister of food until 1984). One member of this Viet Minh group was Le Khanh Khang, a Hue postal service employee who had been imprisoned with us at Duc To. After the Japanese kicked out the French, Khang and many other persons were released. He went back to work at the Hue postal service and joined Tan's Viet Minh group.

During a chance meeting in Hue, Khang informed me that he had joined the Viet Minh. The members of this group were hoping to meet with the party in order to receive leadership. As their organization grew, they were becoming increasingly confused about how to guide it. Through Khang, we investigated the members of this group and found that all of them were patriots who were ready to accept party leadership. We reported this to the Viet Minh Provincial Standing Committee and suggested that this group be brought into the Nguyen Tri Phuong Viet Minh. After having someone investigate them once again, the standing committee decided to unify the organization and guidance of the Nguyen Tri Phuong Viet Minh and the Tan group. In late June 1945, a meeting was held in Bao Dai Park (a strip of land along the Perfume River extending from Phu Van Lau to Kim Long) to decide the merger. With that, the guidance of the Viet Minh movement within the province had been unified.

Following on the heels of the strong changes that had taken place in the movement within the province following the conference in the Cau Hai Swamp (23 May 1945), the merger with the Viet Minh group in Hue helped to advance the movement to new stages of development. In conjunction with the worker and peasant movement, the movement among the urban poor also became more spirited and intense with each passing day. It also became easier to expand the Viet Minh movement and organization among civil servants, youths, students, scholars, intellectuals and soldiers. Many large printing plants were prepared to supply paper and ink and have their workers print leaflets and posters for the Viet Minh. In early July 1945, under the influence of the resounding victories won by the Viet Minh in Bac Bo and Quang Ngai and through the efforts of cadres and party members, the national salvation movement developed in all districts and the majority of Hue's wards. Self-defense units were organized among manual workers in many hamlets and trained night and day. An atmosphere of anticipation of the uprising spread throughout the province and the municipality of Hue.

In conjunction with developing the Viet Minh organization and expanding its movement, one job that required much of the time and effort of the Viet Minh Standing Committee was that of dealing with the various pro-Japanese organizations.

Pro-Japanese organizations of a mass nature were quite active in Thua Thien-Hue after the Japanese kicked out the French. These organizations were the Vietnam Youth Group set up by the Tran Trong Kim lackey government to provide itself with a base of support; the New Vietnam Party founded by Ton Quang Phiet; the Consultative Assembly of the lackey government; the Constitutional Commission of Tran Trong Kim; the Frontline Youth School... Proclaiming themselves to be patriotic mass organizations, they attracted as members a rather large number of youths and persons from many different strata of society. Because they did not understand the policy of the party, a number of former party members who had been imprisoned and some persons among the masses who were previously sympathetic to the party also joined these organizations, thus giving the masses even more reason to mistakenly think that these were patriotic organizations. The growth of the activities of the pro-Japanese organizations posed a major obstacle to the development of the Viet Minh movement. In the face of this situation, some of our comrades wanted to use armed force to punish the diehard elements within these organizations. However, in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the Viet Minh Provincial Conference held in the Cau Hai Swamp, the Viet Minh Provincial Standing Committee instructed the various levels to take pains to maintain close contact with the masses, widely propagandize and publicize the position of the front, clearly analyze the insidious and cunning schemes of the Japanese fascists, keep agitating among the masses to join or support the Viet Minh, isolate pro-Japanese Vietnamese traitors...

By closely combining the practices of meeting with and personally explaining to former party members the position of the party as well as their own mistakes and helping them to once again serve the revolution with a widespread mass agitation effort and efforts to expose Vietnamese traitors masquerading as patriots, we gradually rendered the pro-Japanese organizations completely ineffective, as a result of which they ultimately disbanded.

In early June 1945, in addition to the organizations mentioned above, a secret, virulently anti-Viet Minh and anti-communist organization emerged in Hue. The first encounter with this organization came when the Nguyen Tri Phuong Viet Minh distributed leaflets appealing to the people to oppose the Japanese fascists, unite for the sake of national salvation and join and support the Viet Minh. This group immediately distributed their own leaflets which proclaimed that a bogus Viet Minh disguised by the communists had emerged in Hue to deceive the people and asked that they not believe what they were being told by this organization. They also proclaimed that they were the real Viet Minh and were in liaison with leaders in China... After each time we distributed leaflets and posted slogans, they distributed leaflets restating their arguments. Following an investigation that lasted for several weeks, we learned that this group was part of the anti-revolutionary, anti-communist organization of Ngo Dinh Khoi. Because their organization was confined to a number of high ranking, anti-revolutionary and anti-communist officials and civil servants, they were only ardent about their activities for a period of several weeks. In early August, when we were very active, they remained quiet.

On 8 August 1945, we learned that the Soviet Union had joined the war on the Pacific front and that the Red Army had defeated Japan's Kwandong Army. Believing that the defeat of the Japanese fascists was imminent, the provincial standing committee immediately directed the districts and the municipality to intensify their mass agitation, develop the self-defense organization and take positive steps to prepare for an uprising to seize political power when the opportunity arose. On the morning of 12 August, Le Khanh Khang ran from the postal service to inform us that Japan had surrendered to the allies. In subsequent days, radio and press reports verified that the news of Japan's surrender was true.

Thus, the opportunity for the uprising had arrived. The urgent task of the people and the party organization of Thua Thien-Hue was to be ready to join the rest of the country in an uprising to seize political power. A meeting of the Viet Minh Provincial Standing Committee to decide our policy in the face of the new situation was held at the home of To Tuan. It lasted from noon on 12 August to night of 13 August 1945. Because the Thua Thien-Hue party organization had not had any contact with the Central Committee, the atmosphere surrounding the discussion and adoption of our decision concerning the uprising was very heated and tense. In the end, with majority support, the standing committee decided to mobilize the masses within the province for an uprising to seize political power.

On the basis of the specific situation within the locality, the Viet Minh Provincial Standing Committee drafted the following plan for the uprising: quickly preparing for and carrying out uprisings to seize political power in the districts and launching the uprising within a district as soon as preparations were complete in order to build momentum for the other districts. Once the uprisings to seize political power had been completed in the districts, especially the districts near the municipality, we would, with the assistance of the districts, mobilize the masses to arise and seize political power in Hue.

To give strong impetus to the mass uprising movement, the provincial standing committee ordered the printing for distribution of 300,000 to 400,000 mimeographed copies of each of five different leaflets that:

1. Analyzed the opportunity for an uprising that had emerged and appealed to all strata of the people to arise and seize political power;
2. Provided instructions in how to organize and carry out an uprising, topple the lackey government and establish revolutionary administrations on the village, canton and district levels;
3. Presented the slogans of the uprising to seize political power and explained a number of these slogans;
4. Provided instructions in how to make the red flag with gold star and explained the significance of the flag;
5. Provided instructions in how to organize, equip and select persons for self-defense units.

In conjunction with mobilizing the masses in the districts, agencies, enterprises and streets with the aim of reducing the resistance mounted by the organizations and agencies that had power and forces at their disposal at that time to the lowest possible level, the Viet Minh Provincial Standing Committee wrote a separate letter to each minister, vice minister and high ranking official of the Tran Trong Kim government, to the province chief, the mayor of the municipality, the district chiefs...explaining to them that the objectives of the Viet Minh were to achieve unity for the sake of saving the nation and winning the independence of the fatherland; that now that Japan had surrendered and the opportunity to save the nation was at hand, they should, for the sake of the country and the people, support the Viet Minh and not do anything that would harm the people's cause of national salvation; and that the ministers of the government should encourage Bao Dai to abdicate and encourage the government to resign. In addition, the standing committee also sent a number of comrades to personally encourage Phan Tu Lang, the commander of the security unit, to support the Viet Minh; to personally meet with Phan Anh and request that he instruct the Youth Group to cooperate with the Viet Minh or at least not quarrel about or impede the national salvation cause of the Viet Minh; and to meet with and personally encourage the district chiefs, the mayor of the municipality and his staff to support the Viet Minh. In the face of Japan's surrender to the allies, in the face of the surging tide of revolution throughout the country and the province and in the face of the attitude of the Viet Minh, an attitude that conformed with both reason and sentiment, the efforts to mobilize the upper stratum produced good results: four district chiefs, the security unit commander and many cadres and other commanders enthusiastically lent their support to the Viet Minh. The majority of the officials and civil servants of the Tran Trong Kim government expressed no opposition to the Viet Minh...

As regards the Japanese army, after receiving official news of Japan's surrender, we sent to the Japanese Supreme Advisory Council in Hue a letter which generally read as follows: "Japan has surrendered to the allies.

Soon, you will be returning home. We must achieve independence for our country. To maintain good relations between the Japanese and the Vietnamese, we request that you support our national salvation cause and issue an order to the Japanese forces under your authority instructing them not to impede our cause. As for the Viet Minh Front, we will do everything possible to avoid clashes with the Japanese army."

In mid-August, the movement to prepare for the uprising became an intense movement in the six districts. On the morning of 18 August 1945, with the agreement of the provincial standing committee, the people of Phong Dien District staged an uprising to seize political power throughout the district and successfully established revolutionary people's committees from the village to the canton and district levels. On 20 and 21 August 1945, the districts of Phu Vang, Huong Tra and Huong Thuy also arose and seized political power. Phu Loc and Quang Dien Districts completed their uprisings on the village levels before focusing their efforts on uprisings on the district level.

On the morning of 20 August 1945, following the success of the uprising in Phong Dien District, the provincial standing committee met to decide upon the plan for the uprising in Hue. During this meeting, we learned that Hanoi had seized political power. This news gave us even greater confidence as we discussed the plan for an uprising to seize political power in Hue. The plan that was decided upon was generally as follows:

On 23 August 1945, the Tran Trong Kim lackey government adopted a plan to hold a large meeting at the Hue athletic field to celebrate Japan's restoration of government authority in Nam Ky to the Hue royal dynasty. This was a final attempt by the Tran Trong Kim lackey government to save itself, one designed to test the strength of the Viet Minh and assess the attitude of the masses toward the Nguyen Dynasty in the South. This being the case, we decided to use the enemy's own tactics to fight them and set 23 August as the date for the uprising to seize political power. The districts adjacent to and the basic units within the municipality would mobilize masses with flags and banners and supported by fully armed self-defense troops to march on the municipality on the morning of 23 August and proceed to the Hue athletic field. When given the order, everyone would simultaneously raise red flags with the gold star and revolutionary banners aloft. Then, we would take control of the rostrum and turn the enemy's meeting into a meeting of our own and a march to seize political power. With our self-defense units and security units in place, students of the Frontline Youth School would be deployed to provide security for the meeting, especially the presiding officers, protect the various groups going to take over government agencies and public offices, round up dangerous Vietnamese traitors...

On the evening of 20 August 1945, a group of cadres representing the Central Committee consisting of To Huu, Nguyen Duy Trinh and Ho Tung Mau arrived in Hue to guide the effort to seize political power within the municipality. We were very happy to be receiving personal guidance from these cadres from the Central Committee. That very evening, we gave them a full report on the uprisings to seize political power in the districts and the plan of the Viet Minh Provincial Standing Committee for the uprising to seize political power

in Hue. They agreed with our plan and, that night, (20 August 1945), the Hue uprising committee was established. The committee consisted of a chairman, To Huu, a vice chairman, Hoang Anh Pho, and three members, Le Tu Dong, Nguyen Tan and Le Khanh Khang. The uprising committee met on the second floor of Thuat's house by the Thuong Tu Gate throughout the night of 20 August and the day of 21 August to discuss specific plans. At the meeting, a number of important matters were decided:

--The plan for organizing and guiding the march and meeting at the Hue athletic field;

--The assignment of persons to guide the groups going to take occupation of the agencies and public offices;

--The plan to surround and arrest dangerous Vietnamese spies;

--The plan for the utilization of self-defense forces, security units and the Frontline Youth School;

--Persons were selected for appointment to the Thua Thien Provincial Provisional Revolutionary People's Committee.

At approximately 1900 hours on the evening of 21 August, while the uprising committee was meeting, the announcement was made over the Hue wired radio network that Bao Dai was prepared to abdicate and turn over power to the party best able to manage the country. This announcement added oil to the flames of revolution raging within the municipality. In the streets, people were busy preparing flags and banners. On the evening of 22 August 1945, in order to coordinate with the province's uprising plan and at our request, Bao Dai once again announced over the radio that he was ready to abdicate and turn over the management of the country to the Viet Minh.

No one in the municipality of Hue and many of the province's districts slept at all during the night of 22 August. At 0300 hours on 23 August, along the roads leading from the outskirts of the municipality, groups of persons formed in orderly ranks marched into Hue. The people and self-defense forces of the municipality's wards also poured into the streets. At first, the groups were silent. But, at sunrise, no longer having anything to conceal, the groups began to demonstrate, raised flags, banners and even the spears and swords of the self-defense forces aloft and noisily marched down the streets of Hue shouting slogans: long live completely independent Vietnam; down with the Tran Trong Kim lackey government; long live the Viet Minh Front... The entire municipality had been inundated by a sea of humanity bearing flags and revolutionary banners.

After marching down the main streets of Hue and helping the various units take occupation of agencies, public offices and troop garrisons, the various groups of the masses marched one after the other to the Hue athletic field to attend the grand meeting. At approximately 1600 hours in the afternoon, before more than 150,000 persons, To Huu, chairman of the Hue uprising committee, declared the abolition of the reactionary colonial and feudal administration, declared the establishment of the revolutionary people's administrations of Thua Thien

Province and the municipality of Hue and introduced to his fellow countrymen the members of the Thua Thien Provincial Provisional Revolutionary People's Committee. A chorus of cheers filled the air. The members of the provincial revolutionary people's committee consisted of a number of members of the Viet Minh Provincial Executive Committee and some scholars and patriots such as Buu Tiep, a professor, and Nguyen Tai Duc, former Phu Vang district chief. Ton Quang Phiet was chairman, Hoang Anh was vice chairman and Le Tu Dong, Le Khanh Khang, Tran Thanh Chu, Buu Tiep and Nguyen Tai Duc were members of the committee.

The occupation of the agencies, public offices, garrisons and storehouses of the lackey government was carried out at the same time as the meeting and demonstration of the masses were being held at the Hue athletic field. Although we called what we were doing taking occupation, wherever we went, they had all of their papers, books, inventory property and even personnel files ready to turn over to the revolution. We did not take occupation of Dai Noi (the palace of the king) until after the delegation from the central government accepted the abdication of Bao Dai (30 August 1945).

Generally speaking, the books, documents, storehouses and property of the Tran Trong Kim lackey government and the House of Nguyen royal court were taken over by us intact and nothing was lost. However, from the property we confiscated, we found that after nearly 100 years of plundering by the French colonialists, several years of looting by the Japanese fascists and the wastefulness and incompetency of the king and mandarins of the House of Nguyen, the treasury of the Hue royal court and lackey government was virtually empty. Except for a tiny amount of gold found in the palace, the relatively valuable assets stored in the vault of the lackey government called the "internal treasury" amounted to only 60 boxes of silver bars, each of which weighed about 50 kilograms, and a little more than 500,000 Cochinchina piasters.

As regards dangerous Vietnamese traitors, on 23 August 1945, we only arrested Ngo Dinh Khoi, Ngo Dinh Huan and Pham Quynh. On the morning of the following day (24 August), a group of Japanese soldiers marched on the Hue jail and demanded the release of their friends. Jail guards emphatically refused. They gave up and left. Except for this incident, the Japanese army took no action whatsoever that indicated a desire to impede or oppose us during the uprising to seize political power.

Two days after the uprising in Hue, we learned that a delegation from the central government consisting of Nguyen Luong Bang, Tran Huy Lieu and Cu Huy Can would be arriving in Hue to attend the Bao Dai abdication ceremony. We prepared a welcome for this delegation and organized this ceremony. On 22 August 1945, hundreds of thousands of persons lined the national highway leading from My Chanh to Hue to give the delegation a rousing welcome. At first, the members of the delegation stepped from their car to greet the masses, shaking the hand of each person. Had they continued to do this, it would have taken several days to travel the more than 40 kilometers. So, we had to ask the delegation to return to their car and wave to their fellow countrymen as they made their way into Hue.

On the evening of 30 August 1945, before more than 50,000 persons, the unicorn flag was lowered and the red flag emblazoned with a gold star was hoisted up the Hue flagpole. Bao Dai read his abdication statement and turned over his seal and sword to the revolution. A representative of the government declared the abolition of the monarchy and a chorus of cheers filled the air. Following Bao Dai's abdication ceremony, the uprising to seize political power in Hue was considered to have reached a successful conclusion.

During the evening of 27 August 1945, while we were attending to urgent matters of the revolution and preparing the welcome for the delegation from the central government, six French commandoes landed by parachute at a spot some 20 kilometers to the north of Hue. Self-defense forces of ours made their way to the site and took them into custody. They presented papers identifying themselves as allied troops and demanded to be taken to Hue immediately. We were confused: arresting and disarming these six commandoes might offend the allies; however, it would be very risky to allow them to go to Hue where there were 4,500 Japanese troops and 400 French officers, soldiers and civilians who had now been released from detention by the Japanese. On the pretext of having to await instructions from the upper level, we took them to temporarily stay at a church at the end of Hien Village, more than 3 kilometers from the national highway.

After an investigation that lasted for several days, we learned that the six were French officers who had parachuted into Hue to join the French present in Hue in collaborating with pro-French Vietnamese traitors to take occupation of the municipality before the allies arrived to disarm the Japanese. We ordered that the six be disarmed and imprisoned. The papers taken from them revealed the cunning and insidious plot of the French colonialists. As soon as the incident with the six paratroopers was behind us, four other French commandoes landed by boat at the seaport of Thuan An. They were immediately apprehended, disarmed and imprisoned with the six paratroopers. The French colonialists were lurking about even before the Japanese fascists had departed. This indicated to us that fighting the enemy and protecting the very young revolutionary administration would be a difficult task.

In mid-September 1945, the zone revolutionary people's committee, headquartered in Hue, was established. With that, all aspects of work in Thua Thien-Hue was put under the direct guidance of the Trung Ky Regional Party Committee and the Trung Bo Revolutionary People's Committee. This was a real stroke of luck for us, coming as it did at a time when there was so much for a municipality such as Hue to do: making arrangements with the command and coping with the Japanese forces arriving in Hue from the outlying provinces to await the day they would be disarmed; keeping track of the activities of the 400 Frenchmen who had been given their freedom and were trying to link up with pro-French Vietnamese traitors and await an opportunity to steal our country from us once again; preparing for the arrival of more than 5,000 troops of the Chiang Kai-shek army coming to Hue to disarm Japanese forces and providing food and shelter while establishing good relations with a foreign army... It was truly a very heavy burden for a municipality of less than 60,000 citizens to have to perform so many jobs at once. Under the guidance and with the assistance of the Trung Bo People's Committee, we were relieved of the major portion of this burden that was too much for us to shoulder.

From a domestic standpoint, the urgent tasks of the provincial revolutionary people's committee and the party organization of Thua Thien Province were to concentrate efforts on fighting the famine that occurred in late 1945 and early 1946; launching a movement to increase production in order to prevent chronic famine; and implementing those points in the Viet Minh program that could be implemented, such as distributing public cropland in a way that was fair, establishing the equality of men and women, agitating for the postponement of the debts of the poor, establishing an 8-hour work day, promoting the spread of the national language...

Excited over the enormous victory won by the revolution, freed from slavery and having become the citizens of an independent and free country, the people of Thua Thien-Hue devoted their efforts to implementing the positions and policies of the government and front. Through the unity and mutual assistance of our fellow countrymen in the hamlets, we recovered from the famine of late 1945. The masses responded with vigor and enthusiasm to the movements to increase production, redistribute public cropland, wipe out illiteracy, train self-defense forces... Rice, corn, potatoes, cassava, vegetables and beans covered once fallow pieces of land. Even in the middle of Hue, not one bit of soil was lying fallow, not along the streets or even on the facade of the citadel. Gratifying were the facts that, at many places, robberies had stopped and doors did not have to be closed at night, that cursing and quarreling were no longer being heard in the hamlets and villages. Amidst this profound feeling of joy, no one was preoccupied with petty, personal interests.

However, the imperialists did not want our people to live a peaceful and quiet life. They were looking for ways to invade and occupy our country again. Under the leadership of the party, the people of Thua Thien-Hue, along with the rest of the country, were ready to fight and defend their newly won independence and freedom.

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UPHOLDING REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS, DETERMINED TO MAKE BAC THAI A PROSPEROUS AND STRONG PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 43-49

[Article by Vu Ngoc Linh, secretary of the Bac Thai Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Throwing off the chains of slavery, the people of the Bac Thai ethnic minorities, along with the people of the entire country and under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, headed by the great President Ho Chi Minh, arose and carried out the successful August Revolution, thus bringing about a turning point of enormous significance in the 4,000 year history of our nation. The August Revolution opened the way for the ethnic minorities of Bac Thai to truly become the masters of their lives, the masters of nature, the masters of society and join together in unity to build a new life of comfort and happiness.

However, for the past 40 years, our country has not known true peace and we have been unable to concentrate our efforts on building the country. International imperialist and reactionary powers have continuously invaded and plotted to annex our country. As has been the case with the other provinces of the country, Bac Thai has had to fight and build at the same time and has recorded large, glorious achievements.

Our most significant achievement has been the success of the Bac Thai party organization in correctly and creatively applying the nationalities policy of the party, establishing unity, consensus, equality and mutual assistance among the ethnic minorities, achieving the combined strength of the alliance of workers and farmers and mobilizing large amounts of manpower and materiel, thereby making worthy contributions to the cause of national liberation and the cause of defending the fatherland.

A midland and mountain province that is inhabited by many ethnic minorities, a province that lived for hundreds of years under the domination of the French colonialists and was ravaged by war, Bac Thai is very poor and its economy is backward and largely subsistent in nature. Agricultural and forestry production are still small scale and nomadic. Superstitious beliefs and wasteful funeral and wedding ceremonies still weigh heavily upon the lives of the people. The level of revolutionary awareness varies from one ethnic area

to another. However, under the leadership of the party, the ethnic minorities of Bac Thai have, over the past 40 years, made noteworthy contributions of manpower and materiel to the country's common revolutionary cause. In the war of resistance against the French colonialists, Bac Thai was one of the "base areas of the entire country," was the "capital" of the sacred war of resistance. President Ho and the Party Central Committee worked in Bac Thai and guided the war of resistance from our province for many years. In the resistance against the United States for national salvation, several tens of thousands of Bac Thai's youths joined the army. Bac Thai shot down 69 U.S. aircraft, including two B-52's, and captured 24 U.S. pilots. In the fight against the Chinese expansionist aggressors in February 1979, the armed forces and people of Bac Thai killed 3,675 enemy troops, took 141 prisoners and set 13 tanks afire. In the rear area, the people of the Bac Thai minorities emulated in their work and production and produced much grain and food for supply to the various battlefields.

The existence of this spirited revolutionary movement to contribute to the cause of national liberation and the cause of building the country has been the result of the gradual steps taken by the Bac Thai party organization to correctly apply the nationalities policy of the party to the specific conditions of the locality and establish equality, unity and mutual assistance among the ethnic minorities. In earlier years, the application of the positions and policies of the party regarding socio-economic development was a "bumpy" process in Bac Thai. At some times and places, these policies were not applied correctly and their implementation lacked creativity, thus thwarting efforts to develop the potentials lying in our arable land and labor and develop the spirit of ownership and sense of self-reliance of the ethnic minorities. At other times, feelings in inferiority and the thinking of relying upon and waiting for others to do something arose, thus adversely affecting the effort to establish unity, equality and mutual assistance among the minorities.

In recent years, from the practical lessons learned by us and having gained an increasingly deep understanding of the positions, policies and views of the party, Bac Thai has made every effort to strengthen the basic organizations of the party and administration and accelerate its economic development by opening roads, building water conservancy projects and hydroelectric power plants and gradually introducing scientific and technological advances in the mountains, especially in ethnic minority areas, in order to raise the standard of living of the people. Along with stepping up production, Bac Thai has also made every effort to carry out educational development and open schools and public health and cultural facilities to create the conditions needed for practically all of the children of the ethnic minorities to receive an education and the sick to receive medical care. One important measure taken in recent years has been the welcoming by Bac Thai of tens of thousands of families from the lowlands coming to live amongst the ethnic minorities in order to develop the economy and raise cultural and social standards, especially scientific and technical standards in agricultural and forestry production within the locality. Through work, production and their efforts to build the new life, the people of the ethnic minorities have strengthened their unity, consensus, equality and mutual assistance. There is complete equality of obligations and rights among the ethnic minorities in work,

production, studies, the establishment of the new way of life, the defense of the fatherland... The party committee and administration have concerned themselves with providing assistance, education, training and appropriately increased investments to every minority and area whose cultural standards are low, whose scientific and technical standards are low, whose scientific and technical standards are still backward and have worked to create revolutionary movements of the masses, to encourage them to move forward on the basis of self-reliance but not given them the kind of priority that could be interpreted as "doing someone a favor."

Also as a result of correctly applying the nationalities policy of the party, the Bac Thai party organization has been able to bring the people of the ethnic minorities together, develop their revolutionary-offensive spirit and sense of self-reliance, dismantle the old production relations, establish the system of socialist collective ownership, establish the new production relations, intensify the construction of material-technical bases and gradually make progress in developing Bac Thai from a poor and backward province into a province that has a developed industrial-agricultural-forestry economic structure.

Clearly understanding the requirements of socialist construction in a mountain province, Bac Thai has applied and concretized the economic development line of the party in a manner consistent with the special features of the situation within the locality, gradually established socialist production relations and brought the farmers of the various minorities from the position of working for hire and being exploited to the position of being the masters of every aspect of their lives. The success of the production relations revolution, which has brought more than 90 percent of farm families into collective production, has opened the way for the development of agricultural and forestry production, in particular, and socio-economic development, in general, to proceed at a rapid pace. In the initial stage of advancing our province's economy from small to large scale, the Bac Thai party organization has mobilized the combined strength of the various levels and sectors to develop agriculture and the forest industry. Through the movements to clear land, restore fields to production and introduce scientific and technical advances in production, Bac Thai has gradually brought crop production into balance with livestock production. The rice yields of many districts have gone beyond the threshold of 5 tons per hectare. Many cooperatives, including cooperatives in the mountains, have achieved yields of 7 to 8 tons per hectare. The new, socialist segment of the economy has been established. State farms and forestry sites as well as state-operated stations and farms have been built along with collective stations and farms, thus causing the state-operated, collective and household segments of the economy to develop together, with the state-operated economy becoming the dominant segment within the province's overall economy.

In industry, communications-transportation, water conservancy, capital construction and other sectors, having begun with not one unit of significant importance, the central level gradually began making strong investments in construction following the total liberation of the North (1954). Scores of important industrial units in the fields of energy, metallurgy, land clearing, the processing of agricultural and forestry products and the production of

consumer goods came into being. With its first iron and steel installation, Bac Thai built units of the machine industry, such as the Song Cong Diesel Engine Works, Medical Implements Factory Number 2... The road network has been constantly expanded. Roads that accommodate motor vehicles now run to many remote districts and villages, such as Na Ri, Cho Don, Bach Thong... The water conservancy system and hydroelectric power network have been rapidly developed. Construction of the Nui Coc irrigation project, which has a capacity of 200 million cubic meters of water, has been completed. The Nam Cat hydroelectric power project and various medium and small-scale water conservancy and hydroelectric power projects are under construction. Many more public welfare projects, housing projects and enterprises have been built. These bases have given us the material prerequisites needed to stimulate the development of agriculture and forestry.

Development in the fields of education, public health and culture has truly been a force stimulating the development of the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution.

Immediately after the successful August Revolution, Bac Thai quickly carried out development in the fields of education, public health and culture. Together with wiping out illiteracy, the system of general schools has been expanded all the way to the remote, highland hamlets and villages, thus providing practically every ethnic minority child in the province with an education. Whereas the entire province only had three elementary schools prior to the August Revolution, today, there are four colleges, more than 20 vocational middle schools, 15 general middle schools, 264 basic general schools and 859 kindergarten classes in Bac Thai, which are being attended by hundreds of thousands of students and annually train thousands of sons and daughters of the ethnic minorities as cadres for the economic and cultural sectors within the province. In the field of public health, the province had only 32 public health personnel in 1932. Today, all the villages of the province have a village public health station. The province has two general hospitals, two specialized hospitals (tuberculosis and leprosy) and one therapy center. Each year, some 500,000 persons receive medical examinations. In the field of culture, 200,000 books are delivered to the villages each year. The province has four movie theaters and 20 mobile movie units. It also has the BAC THAI Newspaper, one radio station and 11 district wired radio stations. Backward customs and superstitions have been and are being removed from life, especially in the ethnic minority areas. Inroads have been made against such diseases as malaria, cholera, dysentery... Cultural, literary-art and physical culture-sports activities have steadily developed, thereby gradually improving the spiritual life of the people.

The victories recorded in socio-economic development within Bac Thai over the past 40 years have been victories of the lines, positions and policies of the party, of the spirit of unity, the self-reliance, the spirit of collective ownership, the intelligence and the creativity of the Bac Thai minorities. These victories have brought about the establishment and constant strengthening of socialist production relations and the formation of the new industrial-agricultural-forestry economic structure.

Continuing To Creatively Apply the Positions and Policies of the Party; Intensifying Socialist Construction; Building Solid Socialist Production Relations; Building the District and Strengthening the District Level on the Basis of Promoting the Three Revolutions and Strengthening the Organization of the Party, Thereby Developing Bac Thai into a Strong and Solid Industrial-Agricultural-Forestry Province

Following the total liberation of the South and the reunification of the country, Bac Thai quickly joined the rest of the country in continuing the acceleration of socialist construction. The need to practice frugality and devote efforts to building the material-technical bases of socialism has pervaded every thought, feeling and action of the people of the Bac Thai minorities.

Advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism is a difficult and complex revolutionary process, the purpose of which is to simultaneously develop production from small to large scale and from non-socialist to socialist production by carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction in every field of the economy and society. In this process, the struggle that takes place between socialism and capitalism is a very sharp struggle in all aspects of social life. Bac Thai, a midland and mountain province, occupies a position of strategic importance, not only in the field of national defense, but also in the field of economic development. The need here, however, is to very correctly assess the position, potentials and strengths of the province. Following decades of planning and conducting studies to determine the actual state of our arable land, natural resources and labor force and through our successes as well as failures, Bac Thai has gained an increasingly clear understanding of the potentials that lie in its arable land, natural resources, labor and material-technical bases. However, determining how to develop these strengths has not been easy. In previous years, the province's rice yield was only 12 quintals per hectare. Now, it has risen to roughly 20 quintals per hectare. Once, attention was not given to developing the cultivation of tea. However, since the Bac Thai Provincial Party Committee adopted its policy on bringing laborers up from the lowlands to develop the mountain economy, the amount of area under the cultivation of tea has been expanded to 5,000-6,000 hectares. There are also considerable potentials in the production of peanuts and tobacco but these crops have long been given little attention. Having gained an increasing appreciation of the role played by exports, Bac Thai has been promoting the development of industrial crops, agricultural products...and has begun producing products and goods for consumption as well as products and goods that contribute to the formation of capital for the province. In previous years, the basic units of central industry were not closely tied to the local economy, as a result of which it encountered many difficulties. Now, through the establishment of economic ties, Bac Thai has alleviated many of the difficulties it once experienced with supplies, raw materials and living conditions. The basic industrial units and schools of the central level located within the province have begun to contribute to socio-economic development within the locality and have, in terms of responsibility, closely tied themselves to the locality. Conversely, the locality has assumed the responsibility of helping the basic units of the central level with labor, grain, food products, raw materials and so forth. The economic ties between the central economy and the local

economy, the close ties between the sectors and the territory have helped to make full use of machine and equipment capacity, material bases and scientific-technical knowledge. At the same time, they have helped to fully develop the potentials that lie within our raw materials and labor in order to produce products and goods for consumption and exportation.

In the process of leading, guiding and organizing the implementation of the positions and policies of the party, besides the major achievements that have been recorded, the Bac Thai party organization has also exhibited a number of shortcomings and weaknesses: in one area or another, at one time or another, we have not had a thorough or deep understanding of the important views, positions and policies of the party, as a result of which their application to the specific conditions of the locality has been marked by confusion and the results of our efforts to develop the strengths of the province have been limited. Within agriculture, the yield and output of grain have not risen uniformly and are not stable. The forest industry is not truly tied to agriculture and industry. Industry, small industry and the handicraft trades are not fully utilizing their existing capacity. Business practices and economic accounting are being implemented slowly.

On the basis of the achievements that have been recorded and its existing shortcomings and weaknesses, our Bac Thai party organization has come to the following several realization:

First, in order to develop the potentials that lie in our arable land, labor, natural resources and existing material-technical bases in a manner that yields increasingly high economic returns, it is first of all necessary to strengthen the basic organizations of the party, increase the fighting strength of each party chapter, party organization and party member and raise their political standards as well as improve their ability to organize and manage the economy. The realities of Bac Thai have shown: weak and deficient basic units are the result of not strictly complying with the positions and policies of the party and state on the basic level. Therefore, cadres and party members absolutely must have a firm grasp of and confidence in the lines, positions and policies of the party and must, on this basis, organize their successful implementation by the masses. Party members are the link between the positions and policies of the party and the masses.

Secondly, in the process of leading, guiding and organizing efforts to achieve socio-economic targets, the most important of which are grain and food production targets, Bac Thai has gained an increasingly deep understanding of the organic relationship that exists among the three segments of the economy during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. The three segments of the economy are closely interrelated and stimulate one another's development. This means that the household economy must be placed within the socialist economic system. Facts have shown that were we to only give attention to the state-operated economy, it would be difficult to increase tea production from the current level of 5,000-6,000 hectares to 10,000 hectares within a short amount of time. However, it is possible to increase the production of tea to 10,000 hectares within the next few years if we mobilize and enact policies that provide appropriate incentive to the household economy. On the basis of this realization, Bac Thai has implemented product

contracts within agriculture, forestry, industry, small industry and the handicraft trades and combined in a way that is well balanced the interests of the state, the collective and the individual laborer. The establishment of economic ties between industry and agriculture-forestry, between central industry and local industry, between the economy and the national defense system...has been based on combining the three segments of the economy and the three interests in a way that is well balanced. Only when importance is attached to the three different interests and these interests are combined in a way that is well balanced can the three segments of the economy develop smoothly. The household economy must be based on the collective economy; at the same time, it must accept the direction and guidance of the state-operated economy.

Thirdly, we must rapidly build the district into a complete and developed socio-economic unit. Building the district and strengthening the district level, especially those districts that occupy a vital economic or national defense position, are an important and urgent requirement in our people's causes of building socialism and defending the fatherland. During the past several years, Bac Thai has made many efforts to re-examine the planning and formulate a socio-economic plan for each district and assign additional cadres who possess good personal qualities and skills to the districts in order to help make them fully capable of guiding and organizing the successful implementation of the established socio-economic plan. In the few years that it has been building the district level, Bac Thai has established a new division of labor between agriculture and forestry, industry, small industry, the handicraft trades... The economic ties between the district and the provincial and central levels are becoming an entity within which each level is stimulating the development of the other. The districts and the province have been closely following the guidance and utilizing the assistance of the vertical sectors and have applied the combined strength of the sectors and the entire country to local development. Through our efforts to build the district, we have also gained a fuller and deeper understanding of the views concerning collective ownership and all three levels exercising ownership together in a manner closely tied to the development of the three segments of the economy and the coordination of the three interests. The requirements we face in building the districts are to establish complete socio-economic and national defense units, resolve the food and clothing problems for the people and produce many goods for consumption and exportation. In previous years, some districts maintained that building the district meant establishing a stable supply of food before developing the production of goods. However, the requirements involved in building districts that are strong and solid in every respect as well as the demands of the actual situation have compelled us to take steps to resolve the food and clothing problems while simultaneously developing the commodity economy on the basis of developing agriculture, forestry, industry, small industry and the handicraft trades.

The village and subward are the cells of the district. The district can only be solid and strong when its villages and subwards are solid and strong economically, socially and from the standpoint of national defense. Therefore, the building of the district must be comprehensive and must be closely linked to the villages and subwards, to the basic units.

Fourthly, the establishment of models is a matter of special importance in successfully achieving socio-economic targets. In Bac Thai, there would be no high yield rice production movement were there not a model of the intensive cultivation of rice at Dong Quan (Dai Tu). Without the model of the forest hillside economy at Yen Trach and Tuc Tranh (Phu Luong), it would have been difficult to promote the development of 200,000 hectares of barren land and hills within the province. Therefore, establishing models and building units that are models of a specific aspect of production or a specific area lay a foundation and generate confidence in the emulation movement on the part of the masses.

Fifthly, economic development must be closely tied to strengthening the security and national defense systems. These are the two strategic tasks that must be given concrete expression within the plan because they share a reciprocal relationship and stimulate each other's development. In recent years, this relationship has been expressed in the establishment of ties between basic economic units and army units engaged in economic work and between army and security units and the people, agencies and schools for the purposes of maintaining security and building the national defense system.

Sixthly, the factors that determine success in the application of the positions and policies of the party on the basic level are the strengthening of the organization and apparatus and the assignment of key cadres. These two factors are closely interrelated. Only when cadres who are capable of leading and organizing the masses have been correctly assigned is it possible to turn the positions and policies of the party into revolutionary movements of the masses. These key cadres must be selected from within the movements on the basic level. These cadres consist of two types: management cadres and specialized cadres. Consequently, when assigning these cadres, we must know how to coordinate both types and not confuse them with or separate them from one another. The Vo Nhai party organization was weak and deficient for many years simply because it lacked cadres who were willing to struggle and set good examples and had not assigned its key cadres in a sensible manner. Today, Vo Nhai has overcome its weaknesses and deficiencies and this achievement, too, stems mainly from the proper assignment of key cadres on the basic level.

Seventhly, together with dismantling the system of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, it is necessary to do away with the feeling of inferiority, with the thinking of waiting for and relying upon others to act. This is a matter of self-agitation. When each locality and unit becomes its own master and begins to display dynamism and creativity, it will generate movements. The issue here is that the various party committee echelons must truly have confidence in the revolutionary spirit of the masses. Once a weak district, Pho Yen, as a result of its party committee being dynamic, exercising ownership within the district and truly trusting in the strength of the masses, moved forward and excellently completed many work tasks within the locality. Of importance in helping the basic units move forward is the need for the upper level to provide direction and guidance on the basis of implementing a unified plan from the provincial to the district and basic levels.

Bac Thai is a province that has abundant potentials in its arable land and labor and has rich, diverse natural resources. Socio-economic development within the province over the past 40 years, despite encountering many difficulties and requiring enormous sacrifices, has produced victories very deserving of pride. Bac Thai is not only proud of its vast, green fields and tea terraces, its factories, enterprises and schools that are becoming more numerous with each passing day, but is even more proud of the fact that the Bac Thai party organization has constantly grown and gained strength during the past 40 years of struggling and building. Bac Thai has trained a stratum of new persons who are heroic in combat and brave, diligent, intelligent and creative in work, production and the effort to build the new life. These new persons possess revolutionary zeal, knowledge of science and technology and a spirit of unity and consensus and are becoming an enormous material strength helping us to successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by the esteemed Secretary Le Duan, the Bac Thai party organization is continuing to correctly apply the line, positions and policies of the party and leading the people in upholding our revolutionary traditions, building the system of collective ownership, establishing equality among the ethnic minorities, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions and rapidly developing Bac Thai into a province that is developed economically and socially and has a strong and solid national defense system.

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BEN TRE PROVINCE: TEN YEARS OF CHALLENGES, TEN YEARS OF GROWTH AND VICTORY

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[Article by Nguyen Van Trung, secretary of the Ben Tre Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Part I

After many years of slavery, the successful August Revolution restored true independence to our country to the everlasting joy of the entire nation. However, not long thereafter, the entire nation had to arise and wage a 30 year war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors and the U.S. imperialists.

Under the wise leadership of the party, headed by Uncle Ho, and upholding the nation's tradition of building and defending the country, the people of our entire country, in general, and the people of Ben Tre Province, in particular, fought a protracted and bitter 30 year war, a war involving untold challenges and sacrifices, a war that lasted until 30 April 1975, the day of total victory for us in our long march of slightly less than 11,000 days, a march during which we never rested and every river and road, every rice field and garden, every house and street became identified with a specific feat of arms.

Boundless was our joy that the dream of winning national independence and reunifying the country had become a reality. However, this joy was accompanied by concern and worry among the entire party organization over the new tasks of the revolution and the pressing needs in the material and spiritual lives of the people following 30 years of continuous war. What had to be done and which approach should we take to restore, transform and develop the socio-economic system, quickly stabilize the living conditions of the people, uphold the tradition of the uprising and make strong progress toward building socialism and defending the fatherland?

When we shifted from leading the war effort to leading socialist construction, practically all of the cadres and people of Ben Tre were unavoidable perplexed and confused. The defeated enemy fled from Ben Tre Province, leaving behind the very serious consequences of the war of aggression. There were more than 40,000 families of war dead and wounded soldiers. Tens of thousands of civilians had been killed or disabled. More than 30,000 remnant enemy forces

of all kinds remained in the province along with more than 60,000 of their relatives who had no jobs. In the war, the entire infrastructure supporting production and everyday life had been completely destroyed. In Ben Tre then, the color green was virtually gone. Tens of thousands of hectares of coconut groves and other fruit trees had been destroyed by herbicides. More than 50,000 hectares of cropland were lying fallow. Fields, gardens, hamlets and villages had been ravaged, bomb craters and unexploded shells were everywhere. Virtually nothing remained by way of material bases, especially power plants, water conservancy projects, the industrial network... The U.S. imperialists and the Saigon puppet administration had built nothing in the province except police stations, prisons and strategic hamlets. Whereas small-scale production itself poses a major obstacle in the advance to socialism, the economic and cultural policies of U.S. neo-colonialism made the process of restoring, transforming and developing the socio-economic system many times more difficult and complex. Our difficulties were compounded by natural disasters and enemy attacks. The successive crop failures that occurred from 1977 to 1979 caused grain shortages among tens of thousands of citizens. This was followed by the war of encroachment and occupation of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the lackeys of the Chinese reactionaries, in the southwest, which made the situation even more complex and directly threatened the newly won gains of the revolution.

It can be said that when they entered the new stage of the revolution, the party organization and people of Ben Tre faced enormous challenges, faced difficulties everywhere they turned. They had to concern themselves with restoring, transforming and developing the economy, resolving the difficulties being encountered by the people in their everyday lives and overcoming the aftereffects of the war while contending with natural disasters and enemy attacks under circumstances in which practically every cadre and party member had just emerged from two wars of resistance and everything their families had was in ruins.

Part II

In the face of this situation, the party organization and people of our province were led and guided by the general line and the economic line of the party and by the strategic tasks and targets set by the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party. In addition, the war time revolutionary tradition of "heroism in uprisings to win victory over the Americans and kill the puppets" hastened the progress made by the party organization and people of Ben Tre in exercising their collective ownership role, in displaying self-reliance, dynamism and creativity in order to overcome their difficulties, in learning while working and making every effort to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. Following 10 years of hardships and strenuous efforts under exceedingly difficult conditions, the party organization and people of Ben Tre Province are very excited over the initial achievements that have been recorded in the transformation and development of the socio-economic system and in the fields of security and national defense within the province.

1. During the past 10 years, in its advance from an economy of small-scale, private, decentralized production and backward production standards, Ben Tre Province has, by taking a comprehensive approach and adhering to the guidelines of "proceeding from a low to a high level of development, from small to large scale, taking positive and steady steps and attaching importance to both quantity and quality," performed the tasks of transforming and developing the socio-economic system in a comprehensive manner: it has transformed the cropland economy, transformed the grove economy and transformed the ocean economy, all in a manner closely tied to the transformation of industry and commerce, communications-transportation and the other socio-economic sectors. Today, despite setbacks and through high determination and the flexible application of the lines of the party and the resolutions of the Central Committee, Ben Tre has virtually completed the cooperativization of cropland, having brought 89 percent of cropland and 86 percent of farm families into collective production. In a manner closely linked to the cooperativization of cropland, Ben Tre has transformed the organization of production in coconut groves through "teams of farmers planting coconuts within cooperatives and production collectives at places where there is cropland" and "production solidarity teams" that practice intensive cultivation of coconuts and procure and pre-process coconuts (at places where there is no cropland). Coconut groves are still owned by farmers but the cooperatives, collectives and production solidarity teams instruct farmers in how to practice intensive cultivation and companion cropping, how to improve coconut groves in order to produce many different types of products in large quantity. The management, procurement, mobilization of products and the organizing of the pre-processing of coconuts are undertaken by the collectives and production solidarity teams. Through these forms of organization, we have been able to increase the returns from the grove economy, benefit farmers, control products for the state, reorganize labor, resolve the problem of surplus labor and increase the formation of capital for production collectives and production solidarity teams. The vast majority of farmers have accepted, supported and eagerly joined these organizations because, in the final analysis, these organizations serve and guarantee their interests. Ben Tre is now focusing its efforts on virtually completing the transformation and reorganization of production in coconut groves by the 3rd quarter of 1985.

Although many difficulties are still being encountered, the transformation of the marine products industry, the salt industry and the forest industry is being intensified through the establishment of two forms of organization: cooperative teams and production solidarity teams. Rather good changes are taking place in the transformation of industry and commerce. In the fields of communications-transportation, culture, public health and so forth, transformation has also produced a number of results. By the end of 1985, Ben Tre will have virtually completed its socialist transformation in every field. In Ben Tre, the process of socialist transformation is creating various types of economic organizations within the villages: agricultural cooperatives and production collectives, production solidarity teams in the groves, marketing cooperatives, credit cooperatives, small industry and handicraft cooperatives, transportation cooperatives, etc.

Socialist transformation, although still encountering more than a few difficulties, has created the image of socialism within the various sectors of the economy, an image that takes two principal forms: the collective economy and the state-operated economy. Socialist transformation, especially within agriculture, has abolished exploitation in the countryside, liberated the farmer in every way and brought about changes in every aspect of life in the countryside and within the scope of the district: the development of a diversified agriculture has been stimulated, order has gradually been established in distribution and circulation and the mobilization of agricultural products, food products, industrial crop products and marine products has been carried out quite well. Cultural life in the countryside is changing. Security and national defense are being firmly maintained. The alliance of workers and farmers has been strengthened. Farmers have confidence in the party and the system and participate in collective productive labor with peace of mind and enthusiasm.

2. On the basis of the natural characteristics and conditions and the ecology of Ben Tre, our party organization has defined the economic structure of the province as an industrial-agricultural structure and that of the districts as an agro-fishing-industrial structure. Our strengths in agriculture include cropland, the land in groves (used to raise both grain and industrial crops), livestock production, the harvesting of marine products and the forest industry. These are the strengths of a diversified agriculture. Besides these strengths, the province also has industry, small industry, a processing industry, a machine industry, a building materials industry, a consumer goods industry and an export goods industry. In recent years, especially during the past several years, there has been a high degree of consensus among the various levels and sectors, from the provincial to the district and basic levels, within the party organization and among the people concerning the point of view taken by the provincial party committee, namely, that Ben Tre cannot advance to socialism, cannot contribute to the industrialization of the country and the industrialization of the province simply by means of rice, by means of the cropland economy but must combine them with the grove economy and the ocean economy and establish close coordination between a diversified agriculture and industry, small industry and the handicraft trades in order to rapidly carry out comprehensive economic development. At the same time, the province must increase both its exports and imports in order to provide for its own needs.

This view has been thoroughly adopted and is becoming a spiritual and material force within the units of the state-operated economy and the collective economy and among hundreds of thousands of farmers.

Whereas Ben Tre once did not produce sufficient grain and lacked food, our province has, by means of methods of intensive cultivation that are well suited to each area, opened nearly 40,000 hectares of two-crop rice fields (of the total of more than 90,000 hectares of rice fields). Ben Tre has resolved the grain problem relatively well, having raised output from less than 200,000 tons during the first year following liberation to 340,000 tons in 1983 and 440,000 tons in 1984, thereby bringing paddy output per capita from slightly less than 200 kilograms in 1976 to 350 kilograms in 1984. As regards industrial crops, by restoring, improving and planting new coconut groves, Ben

Tre has increased the total amount of area under the cultivation of coconuts from 10,000 hectares after liberation to 40,000 hectares, 24,000 hectares of which are being harvested. Output has increased from 30 million coconuts in 1976 to 120 million in 1984. Sugarcane output has continued to increase rapidly and now exceeds 500,000 tons. The output of harvested and cultivated marine products reached 40,000 tons in 1984, twice as high as in 1976. As a result of closely linking agriculture to industry, we have begun to establish the industrial-agricultural economic structure of the province and an agricultural-fishing-industrial structure within the districts. We have also established a division of labor and responsibilities in industrial, small industry and handicraft production within the province, districts and basic units. As a result, the rate of industrial development has been rather high. Following liberation day, Ben Tre had 19 outmoded, small and crippled enterprises. Through transformation and construction, it has now established 117 enterprises in the processing, machine, building materials, consumer goods and export goods industries, two-thirds of which are enterprises of the processing industry, 82 of which are small industrial enterprises of the districts and a number of which are medium-size industrial enterprises. As regards electric power, following liberation day, the province had only one small diesel generating station serving the city and its environs. Today, we have power plants and the power network has been expanded to three districts to serve industry, the water conservancy sector and the other socio-economic sectors. By developing local potentials in order to provide for our own needs, by relying upon the forces of the people in the "state and the people working together" movement and on the basis of a rational division of labor and responsibilities, Ben Tre has restored, improved and developed communications-transportation. We now have hundreds of kilometers of inter-district, inter-village and rural roads and have constructed a number of large bridges and hundreds of medium and small bridges while building and expanding our water route transportation capacity, thereby overcoming some of the transportation difficulties of the people living in areas crisscrossed by rivers, streams and canals and supporting production and everyday life as well as security and national defense needs well.

Special attention has been given to distribution and circulation. Once overwhelmed by private commerce and unable to control the market or prices, which created many difficulties for the people in their daily lives, state-operated commerce has now been developed and strengthened and has extended itself into the subareas of the province. Marketing cooperatives have been strengthened and developed in all villages of the province and are extending themselves into the hamlets with increasingly large business revenues and serving production and everyday needs better with each passing day. These cooperatives have become increasingly large and are competently supporting state-operated commerce, especially in the procurement of agricultural products. The activities of socialist commerce have been closely tied to the transformation of private merchants, the management of prices and the management of the market within basic units and within the scope of the district. Socialist commerce virtually controls all strategic goods, is doing well in the area of wholesale sales and is controlling retail sales well. Although we still face very many difficulties and although complex changes are still taking place in the struggle on the distribution and circulation front, we have won a number of important victories. The one that stands out above

the rest is that mobilization norms and norms on controlling goods and controlling money are much higher than they were in 1983 and far higher than they were in many previous years. The mobilization of goods for the central level has exceeded the plan every year and increased with each subsequent year. In 1984, this plan was exceeded by 13 percent. The mobilization of grain, sugar and hogs exceeded the plan assigned by the central level by 5 to 35 percent and the mobilization of fish and shrimp exceeded the plan by 110 percent. Exports increased two-fold. Budget revenues equalled 137 percent of the plan assigned by the central level and increased 68 percent compared to 1983. Industrial taxes exceeded the plan by 12 percent, an increase of 32 percent compared to 1983, and cash revenues exceeded the plan by 16 percent.

Due to the improvements in production and distribution-circulation, we have been able to provide jobs for 35,000 laborers and the material and cultural lives of the various strata of the province's people have been improved to a gratifying degree compared to the first years following liberation.

3. Following liberation, the various socio-economic sectors had virtually nothing by way of material bases. Today, we have established and developed integrated material bases that exist within each district or are shared by districts, bases that support production and everyday life as well as security and national defense needs well. The most significant of these are the water conservancy networks, the communications system, the power network, the industrial system, warehouses, wharves and storage yards, etc.

Significant advances have been made in the field of socialist culture, public health and education. The ideology and the reactionary, decadent culture of neo-colonialism and their many adverse consequences have virtually been eliminated. The revolutionary ideology and new culture have achieved a position of dominance in every field of social life. Wired and wireless radio stations have been built in all districts. Village wired radio networks have developed rapidly. In Giong Trom District, 100 percent of the villages have a wired radio network. All districts have a theater, an outdoor theater, a museum, a cultural center and a library. The cultural material bases that have been established, although still small in size and simple in form, are rich in content. The socialist educational system has developed relatively rapidly. In the past, some districts had only one middle school. Large districts had one or two additional schools in a number of densely populated areas. Today, all villages have a basic general school and all districts have a middle school. These schools are being extended into a number of the smaller centers within the districts, thus virtually meeting the education needs of the people. Public health services have continuously developed. Prior to liberation day, each district had but one emergency aid station and maternity clinic. None had a hospital. There were no public health treatment facilities in the villages. In the key pacification zones of the Americans and puppets, there were a few facilities that dispensed drugs, but these were demagogic in nature. Today, every village has a public health station and 50 percent of the villages have a maternity clinic. All districts and the city have a medical examination clinic and a hospital with 1,150 beds. The number of public health cadres has constantly risen, from 12 doctors at the time of liberation to 66 doctors today, from 100 physicians to 480 physicians today.

4. While making every effort to build and develop the province's socio-economic system in every respect, the party organization and people of Ben Tre have always combined these efforts with building and strengthening the security and national defense systems, have always kept the front--where our soldiers and fellow countrymen are guarding the border of the fatherland or fulfilling their international obligation--uppermost in their minds. Throughout the past 10 years, the party organization and people of Ben Tre have stood ready to accept, complete and exceed every task required by the front. The compatriots and comrades of Ben Tre deeply understand that the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country are closely tied to the life and happiness of each family, each person. Ben Tre has met and exceeded military draft quotas for many years in a row, taken positive steps to maintain security along the coastline and maintain domestic tranquility, has contributed to the defense of the northern border and fulfilled its international obligation to Kandal, the Cambodian province with which it has established a brotherhood. The district military fortress is taking shape. The battlefield deployment of the people's war has been put in place and we are prepared to deal with any war situation caused by the enemy.

In the process of performing brand new revolutionary tasks filled with difficulties and challenges, the party organization and corps of cadres of Ben Tre have developed and grown rapidly. In the war, the party organization and people of Ben Tre accepted every challenge and sacrifice for the sake of the independence and freedom of the fatherland. They united in combat and fought victoriously. Today, for the sake of socialism, for the sake of the happiness of the people, the party organization and people of Ben Tre have developed their spirit of collective ownership, their sense of self-reliance, their dynamism and creativity, overcome new difficulties and challenges and won encouraging initial victories.

Ten years of challenges, ten years of growth and victory confirm as correct the course that Ben Tre has been following: "Regardless of how difficult circumstances and conditions might be and despite the fact that we only recently emerged from a bitter war, we still can and must immediately embark on socialist transformation and construction; by displaying high revolutionary determining, employing correct revolutionary methods, fully understanding the lines of the party, creatively applying these lines to the circumstances that exist, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, upholding the Uprising tradition, upholding the collective ownership role of the laboring masses, achieving internal unity and uniting the people, we will be able to successfully perform each task and meet each target in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist fatherland."

However, the achievements that have been recorded are only initial achievements. Ben Tre still has many shortcomings and weaknesses that it must make every effort to correct.

First, the potentials that lie in our arable land, labor, sectors and trades are large, rich and diverse but the rate at which these potentials are being developed is slow, the scale of their development is small and the returns being achieved are low.

Secondly, the volume of agricultural products, food products, industrial crop products, marine products and export goods being produced has been steadily increasing but industrial capacity, which includes electricity and processing equipment, is still very small and decentralized, the quality of processed products is low and processing efficiency is not high.

Thirdly, while more and more agricultural products and commodities are being produced, efforts to procure and control these products and commodities are still weak, especially with regard to coconuts.

Fourthly, production and capital construction needs are constantly rising but sufficient capital, materials, energy, technical cadres and management cadres are not available to meet these needs and export-important activities have yet to make positive contributions to the solution of this problem.

Fifthly, the steady expansion of production at a rapid rate and on a large scale demands that economic accounting and socialist business practices be implemented; however, certain aspects of the management system are unsuitable and bureaucracy and subsidization have only been set back, not thoroughly dismantled.

Sixthly, the requirements involved in guiding production and managing the economy have raised many complex problems; however, the organization, the apparatus and the skills of cadres are still weak and material bases and equipment are still in short supply. In particular, we do not have enough money or enough trade goods to procure and control goods and supplies for production and construction and the circulation of goods is slow, thereby creating the crisis of an artificial surplus.

Part III

The general tasks of the party organization and people of Ben Tre Province in the years ahead are: "Provide stronger leadership; achieve political consensus and a unity of thought and actions throughout the party, among all the people and throughout the army; be determined to perform the two strategic tasks and meet the four socio-economic targets with the highest possible level of performance; and successfully complete each task and meet each target of the 1985 plan and the 5-year plan (1986-1990). On this basis, we must improve the standard of living of the people; build material-technical bases for the socio-economic system; take another step forward in the industrialization of the province; strengthen the national defense and security systems; streamline and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship system; and make progress more rapidly, on a larger scale, more efficiently and in a more comprehensive, uniform and steady manner."

The specific targets for 1985 and the next 5 years are to continue to accelerate the development of a diversified agriculture, beginning with the development of grain and food product production, the production of perennial and annual industry crops and the vigorous development of livestock production and the harvesting of marine products in order to create sources of raw materials for the processing industry and sources of export goods; strengthening and developing the processing industry, the electric power

industry, the machine industry, the building materials industry...and establishing an industrial-agricultural economic structure for the province and an agricultural-fishing-industrial economic structure for the districts; and efficiently developing the potentials that lie in the arable land, the labor, the rich, diverse sources of raw materials and the economic strengths of the province in order to produce many types of products of higher quality and in larger quantities and do so at a faster rate and with higher efficiency, with special emphasis on developing, in the very best manner possible, the grove economy, the ocean economy, the processing industry and exports.

While continuing to carry out transformation and gradually perfect the socialist production relations, we must improve the quality of agricultural cooperativization and take the next step, the step from production collectives to agricultural cooperatives. Production collectives will only be upgraded to agricultural production cooperatives when they are doing what will be required of them next well. At present, strengthening and improving the quality of the production collectives, breaking the cycle of monoculture and insuring that the units of the collective economy and the state-operated economy are socialist in nature are our central task and urgent requirement. We must complete the transformation of the grove economy by means of production solidarity teams. Efforts must be concentrated on continuing to carry out the socialist transformation of industry, commerce, the marine products industry, the salt industry, the forest industry, the transportation sector and so forth. We must select and establish suitable forms of transformation for each. Efforts must be made to virtually complete the transformation of all socio-economic sectors by the end of 1985 and then gradually improve upon what has been achieved in subsequent years. We must intensify our efforts in distribution and circulation, control the entire market, manage prices well, control goods and money and support production and the daily needs of the people better. We must carry out the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism, beginning by concentrating our investments on the development of the province's economic strengths, especially coconuts, marine products and the processing industry, and key projects supporting production and everyday life. We must further improve the quality of cultural activities, public health services, education, the building of the new countryside, the training of cadres and the molding of the new man.

We must continue to meet the requirements involved in building the district military fortress and improve upon what we achieve. We must promote the building of the district and the assignment of comprehensive management responsibilities to the district level as befitting the strategic position occupied by the district. We must closely tie the building of the district to the strengthening of basic units and the development of the various sectors within the province. Party building must be closely tied to the building of the district and the building of spirited revolutionary movements of the masses within all economic sectors and fields of activity, movements that have higher requirements and are more comprehensive in nature. We must strengthen the organizations of the party, especially its basic organizations, insure that they have a thorough understanding of the party's lines, policies and positions and improve their ability to organize implementation in every respect. In particular, organizing and guiding the development of a

diversified economy and successfully meeting socio-economic targets are the fundamental objectives and the main requirements in the process of building the party and strengthening the proletarian dictatorship system.

Following 10 years of challenges, 10 years of growth and victory, many large possibilities filled with bright prospects are opening before the party organization and people of Ben Tre. The party organization and people of Ben Tre are determined to struggle, to move forward and record new and even larger victories.

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IN BINH TRI THIEN TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 57-61

[Article by Nguyen Duc Thieng]

[Text] Binh Tri Thien, a province in central Vietnam that consists of land of the former provinces of Quang Binh, Quang Tri and Thua Thien and the former Vinh Linh Zone that were merged in 1976, ranks fourth in size and ninth in population among the country's provinces. The majority of the province's land lies in hills, mountain forests and a narrow strip of lowlands and soil fertility is low. In addition to Reunification Railroad and National Highway 1A which run through Binh Tri Thien and link the South and the North, there is also Route 9, the most important road linking Vietnam to the friendly country of Laos. Ours is a province that has many seaports and river ports of economic value as well as military importance, such as the Nhat Le seaport, the Tung seaport, the Viet seaport, the Thuan An seaport, the Tu Hien seaport, the Gianh River port, the Dong Ha River port... It is also a province that has many places of scenic beauty and many architectural and cultural products that are known throughout the country and the world.

These features of the province have afforded Binh Tri Thien with many advantages but also created many difficulties for it in socialist construction. At the same time, they gave the province a strategic position of utmost importance in the revolution of Vietnam and Indochina. This explains why, in their war of aggression against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the U.S. imperialists selected this area, which they called the "panhandle," as a key target of attacks. They attacked Binh Tri Thien by exceedingly brutal and cruel methods in a vain attempt to turn this piece of land into an uninhabited zone and a shield in order to protect their neo-colonialism in the South and block the support of the North, of the socialist countries for South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, with the aim of maintaining their rule throughout Indochina. In the southern area of the province, the Americans and puppets built dozens of detention centers--"hells on earth"--and detained and tortured more than 100,000 innocent civilians. They set up so called "new life hamlets" and "resettlement zones," which were actually strategic hamlets and concentration camps, and herded nearly 1 million persons into these more than 3,200 hamlets and camps. They built the McNamara electronic fence and a dense network of military bases and police stations extending from the seacoast to the Vietnam-Laos border. They conducted nearly 60,000 large and small

operations. They flew hundreds of thousands of sorties, including strategic B-52 flights, and dropped tens of millions of bombs. In the more than 20 years of their ruthless and bloody war, the Americans and puppets killed or injured more than 130,000 civilians; destroyed 7,550 hamlets; demolished 230,000 homes; killed or stole more than 100,000 buffalo and head of cattle; destroyed or rendered fallow tens of thousands of hectares of agricultural land and more than 200,000 hectares of forests with reserves of 4 million cubic meters of timber; destroyed or damaged thousands of kilometers of roads and more than 50,000 large and small bridges...

By liberation day, Binh Tri Thien lay in devastation and ruin. Tens of thousands of persons had been disabled as a result of the torture, imprisonment, bombs and chemical poisons of the Americans and puppets. Hundreds of thousands of persons had returned to their former villages from resettlement centers or places to which they had evacuated and had no homes, no grain, no production tools. There were thousands of orphaned children and elderly persons with no one to care for them. Practically the entire public health network had been destroyed and diseases had broken out among many age groups at many places. The health of the people had been seriously harmed. The majority of schools and cultural projects had been destroyed and illiteracy was widespread. There was a serious lack of labor. The situation from the standpoint of political security and social order was very complex. Practically every piece of cropland had been torn up by bombs and shells. There was an average of five large bomb craters, a few dozens artillery shell craters and many pieces of bombs and shells on every hectare of cropland. The amount of area under the cultivation of rice and subsidiary food crops had been reduced, soil fertility had declined. Many areas had become overgrown with reeds. Chemical poisons, bombs and shells had denuded the forests. The beefwood trees along the seacoast had been destroyed and blowing sand covered rice paddies and gardens. One-third of the province's forests, virgin forests, had been destroyed and cogon grass and myrtle trees had grown in their place. The forests of precious wood had been destroyed and the timber trees that remained were not only small in number but also difficult to harvest because of the steep grade of the land on which they stood. Industrial crops and fruit trees had been seriously damaged (the coffee hills in KheSanh had been stripped bare and more than 100,000 jackfruit trees, 320,000 tea plants, all pepper and "mac" plants and hundreds of hectares of banana trees in the Cua area had been destroyed). Many species of birds and wild animals had been wiped out or migrated elsewhere. There was not much livestock or poultry left and a marked decline had occurred in marine product populations.

The serious consequences of the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists weighed heavily upon the economy and the material and spiritual lives of the people of Binh Tri Thien.

Turning our hands to overcoming the consequences of the war, restoring and developing the economy and building the new life in such a situation truly amounted to an arduous struggle, a decisive challenge which required not only that we shed much sweat, but blood as well. However, the party organization and people of Binh Tri Thien had some very basic advantages in their favor: the South had been totally liberated, the country had been reunified and we

were now receiving clear-sighted and timely leadership from the Party Central Committee and government. The party organization and people of the province had a staunch revolutionary tradition and had been tempered and challenged in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation. When the province was liberated, there was a surge of revolutionary-offensive spirit among cadres, party members and the masses. With joy in their hearts, everyone began to build the new life against the background of a country that was now independent and free. The people of the province, diligent workers by nature due to the need to fight harsh natural disasters in this scorching hot region of central Vietnam, possessed much production experience and much experience in organizing life, were frugal, were able to endure hardships, were self-reliant and always looking for ways to improve their farming techniques as well as their manual skills.

During the past 10 years, having gained a clear understanding of the special features of the province, recognizing the advantages and difficulties that exist both in the immediate future and over the long range, under the light of the lines, positions and policies of the party and state and in the spirit of selectively drawing upon the successful as well as unsuccessful experiences of the other provinces in socialist transformation and socialist construction, the party organization and people of Binh Tri Thien have correctly defined their potentials, strengths, targets and course of development in a manner consistent with the positions of the party and state.

During the days immediately following liberation, the most pressing problems that faced the people and cadres of Binh Tri Thien were to quickly restore production and stabilize the living conditions of the masses, most importantly to produce grain. The province focused every effort on and took every possible measure to disarm bombs and mines, step up the clearing of land and the restoration of fields to production, build water conservancy systems and restore farmland. On this front, the party organization and people of Binh Tri Thien made extraordinary efforts and paid a very high price: to reclaim cropland, more than 12 million bombs and mines of all types had to be disarmed. In the process, more than 4,000 persons were injured or permanently disabled (in Binh Tri Thien today, there are still many millions of bombs and mines left behind by the Americans and puppets. In former Quang Tri Province alone, there are at least 2 million bombs and mines, an average of 2 to 3, at some places as many as 8, bombs and mines per square meter. Since 1975, more than 10,000 persons have been killed or injured by bombs and mines left behind by the Americans and puppets). The province, considering agriculture the front of foremost importance, decided to step up agricultural production, to combine intensive cultivation with expanding the amount of area under cultivation, practicing companion cropping and multicropping and to raise rice as well as annual vegetable and subsidiary food crops in order to quickly alleviate hunger. The people of the province spent tens of millions of mandays building water conservancy projects. Under this correct policy and with a great deal of timely assistance from the central level, production was restored and the living conditions of the people were gradually stabilized and improved within a short amount of time. Binh Tri Thien has progressed from needing more than 100,000 tons of grain from the central level annually during the first years following liberation to self-sufficiency in grain in recent years. In 1976, the grain output of the entire province was only 348,433

tons, an average of only 198 kilograms per capita. In 1984, Binh Tri Thien produced 530,000 tons of grain, 300 kilograms per capita. Trieu Hai District raised its per capita grain output from 350 kilograms to 410 kilograms. Moreover, in 1984, Binh Tri Thien also mobilized 7,646 tons of grain to fulfill obligations to the state. Paddy from Binh Tri Thien expressing the province's affection and support has been sent all the way to the northern border to help win victory over the Chinese aggressor forces.

When peace was restored, not much was left of Binh Tri Thien's livestock herds and poultry flocks. In Trieu Trach Village, Trieu Hai District, not one chicken or duck remained. Of the 5,000 buffalo and head of cattle that were once in the former district of Cam Lo, only 170 were left by liberation day. Former Trieu Phong District, which once had about 10,000 buffalo and head of cattle, had only 300 on liberation day. In A Luoi District, every village once raised hundreds of buffalo and head of cattle (some households raised as many as 20 to 30); however, by 1968 and 1969, the district had virtually no buffalo, cattle or even poultry left. During the past 10 years, by taking every possible positive measure, such as bringing in breeding stock from the northern provinces and encouraging the raising of livestock by farm households and cadres, Binh Tri Thien has quickly and strongly developed its livestock herds and poultry flocks. The province not only has sufficient draft power, but has also been producing food products for supply to the cadres and people of the province, fulfilling obligations to the state and supporting a number of other localities. The province's hog herd developed from 342,000 hogs in 1976 to 520,000 in 1984. Some districts have developed a rather good livestock production movement, such as Trieu Hai District (21,000 buffalo and head of cattle and 60,000 hogs), Dong Ha City (nearly 40,000 buffalo, head of cattle and hogs), Ben Hai District (23,000 buffalo and head of cattle and 45,000 hogs), etc.

As regards forestry, having started out with its natural and man-made forests denuded by the herbicides, bombs and shells of the Americans and puppets, Binh Tri Thien now has dozens of forestry sites specializing in planting forests to cover barren hills with vegetation, retain water sources, regulate the climate, protect the environment and provide wood for construction, for supply to industry and for exportation. The province has planted tens of thousands of hectares of new forests. Some 15,000 hectares were planted in 1984 alone. Beefwood trees have been planted along hundreds of kilometers of coastline to provide protection against the wind and block blowing sand. Ben Hai District has planted 17,000 hectares with 43 million timber bearing trees. In 1983, Trieu Hai District planted 5 million trees. Along the coastline of this district, beefwood trees have been planted for a distance of 32 kilometers in a belt 500 to 1,500 meters wide.

In 1982, Binh Tri Thien began exporting products. The province's export goods are quite diverse: bamboo blinds, embroider and lace goods, wooden furniture, rubber, pimento, pepper, frozen marine products... The value of export goods has increased markedly, from only 2 million rubles in 1982 to 16 million rubles in 1984. It can be said that the strengths of Binh Tri Thien hold large prospects from the standpoint of exports. All we need to realize these prospects are good organization and appropriate investments.

The public health sector of Binh Tri Thien has recorded many noteworthy achievements over the past 10 years. At the time of liberation, the province had virtually no medical examination and treatment facilities and very few doctors. The outbreak and spread of disease, especially venereal diseases, malaria, cancers and epidemics, gave cause for concern. In 1976, there were only 10 medical examination offices, some of which were large and some of which were small, but all of which had only a meager supply of rudimentary medical equipment. By 1984, the province had 38 medical examination offices and a rather large number of physicians supported by much modern medical equipment. There are now 26 hospital beds and 5.8 physicians and doctors for every 10,000 citizens. Each citizen receives a medical examination on the average of 2.5 times per year. Morbidity rates for some diseases have been steadily decreasing. In particular, planned parenthood is being actively promoted. In Trieu Hai District, the birthrate has been reduced to 1.68 percent, the lowest level in our country at this time.

As regards education, there were, in past years, very few schools and students in the districts that lie to the south of the Ben Hai River. Together with the strides that have been made in the development of the education sector throughout the country, Binh Tri Thien has made leaps forward in the development of education. The province wiped out illiteracy 3 years after liberation. All citizens of the province have a level I general school education. All cadres and youths have a level II education. Eventually, all cadres and youths will receive a level III education. Every district has at least two middle schools. Every village has one basic general school. Ben Hai District has four middle schools. In Binh Tri Thien today, one of every three persons is attending school and the quality of education is constantly being improved. Each year, the Binh Tri Thien education sector continues to provide students skilled in a number of subjects for the national team of top students participating in international examinations.

During the past 10 years, with the aim of serving and improving the spiritual life of the people, the province has invested much capital in the construction of public cultural projects. The municipality of Hue has many old and famous historical and cultural ruins; however, many of these were destroyed during the war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists. Today, the province is fully concerned with repairing these ruins with the aim of preserving these precious assets of the nation and serving domestic and foreign tourists. Every district has a museum, a tradition hall, a library with hundreds of thousands of books and newspapers, a movie house, a theater... Some villages, such as Trieu Ai, Trieu Thuong, Hai Thuong and Vinh Thuy, have constructed tradition halls that are grand in scale and quite rich in content.

After 26 March 1975 (the day that Binh Tri Thien was totally liberated), there were nearly 60,000 puppet troops, puppet government personnel, intelligence agents, spies and members of reactionary political parties remaining within the province. In the face of the power of the revolution and the policy of humanitarianism and clemency of our party and state, the majority of these persons repented, returned to earning an honest living and became citizens of socialist Vietnam. But, many diehard elements continued serving as lackeys of the U.S. imperialists and Chinese reactionaries and conducted clandestine activities against the revolutionary administration. They engaged in intense

psychological warfare operations and made every effort to spread damaging rumors, create suspicion of the new system and spread the American way of life. They looked for ways to infiltrate a number of administration organizations and mass organizations to commit sabotage. They arranged for persons to flee to foreign countries by sea and by land across the border. They committed many bombings, many mine and grenade attacks, many murders and robberies, thus disrupting security and order in society. They linked up with, won over and assembled a number of former puppet soldiers and government personnel, former members of reactionary political parties who refused to undergo re-education and reactionaries masquerading as religious clergy and established various reactionary organizations (the Vietnam National Restoration Militia Front, the Dai Viet National Restoration Front, the Anti-Communist Youth Front, the National Salvation Front, the Vietnam Patriotic Youth Front, the Society of "Plain Speaking" Poets...) in a vain attempt to carry out their plans to foment insurrection and topple the revolutionary administration when the opportunity arose. They secretly used all types of decadent cultural products, used heroin, other narcotics and prostitutes to corrupt and win the allegiance of some youths and gullible followers. Their opposition activities, which have been clandestine and covert at some times and brazen and frenzied at others, have all been guided by the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists as part of their "post-war" plan and part of the dangerous and cunning wide-ranging war of sabotage. However, these sinister activities of theirs have not escaped the vigilant eyes of the people, of our security and national defense forces. Between 1976 and 1984, Binh Tri Thien uncovered and properly punished 15 reactionary organizations with more than 6,000 members that were plotting to foment counter-revolutionary insurrection. The armed forces and people of Binh Tri Thien also promptly punished the Chinese spies and commandoes that infiltrated the offshore waters of Binh Tri Thien in armed ships and boats in early March 1982. The national defense and security forces of Binh Tri Thien, which have steadily grown and become increasingly strong, have performed combat missions well, have maintained political security and social order within the province well, thereby helping to firmly defend the independence and sovereignty of the nation. The province has also met and exceeded its military obligation every year. Sons and daughters of Binh Tri Thien are not only on duty protecting their own province, but are also present in many other areas, including along the border and on the islands, in order to help guard the land and air space of the fatherland and have also volunteered to go help our friends in Laos and Cambodia. Upholding the fine tradition of the armed forces and people of the province, the sons and daughters of Binh Tri Thien have fought bravely and many have given their lives for the sake of the quiet and happy lives of their compatriots, for the sake of the independence, freedom and socialism of the fatherland. The fact that political security and social order have been firmly maintained has given the masses confidence and allowed them to carry out production and build the new life with peace of mind.

The past 10 years, while truly nothing more than a moment in time compared to the length of our history, have been a period during which the party organization and people of Binh Tri Thien have displayed high determination to fight and win victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S.

imperialists and other reactionaries. At the same time, they have displayed the spirit of collective ownership, displayed a high sense of self-reliance and applied their diligent hands and creative minds to rebuilding the country and making it grander and more beautiful with each passing day. Today, the cadres, party members and people of Binh Tri Thien take great joy and pride in the fact that, rising from the ashes of war, this brave land that has known so much suffering has changed completely and is moving forward with every hour of every day. The achievements that have been recorded during the past several years, although not many in number, are, to the people of Binh Tri Thien, remarkable and large.

On the momentum of the victories won in recent years and under the light of the lines and policies of the party, the party organization and people of Binh Tri Thien will surely record many larger achievements in socialist construction and the defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

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FORTY YEARS UNDER THE PEOPLE'S ADMINISTRATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 62-67

[Article by Nguyen Quan]

[Text] The victory of the 1945 August Revolution led to the birth of the Vietnamese people's democratic state led by the working class. During the past 40 years, our people have recorded large and seemingly impossible achievements in the war of resistance for national salvation as well as in the cause of building the country, building our new life.

Abolishing the Feudal System, Transforming the National Economy and Advancing to Socialism

Prior to the August Revolution, nearly two-thirds of our country's farmland was concentrated in the hands of the colonialists and feudalists. If we include land under the cultivation of perennial crops, this figure was 70 percent. Nearly 60 percent of the households in the countryside had no land. In particular, in the South, this figure was nearly 68 percent. On the average, nearly 40 percent of the annual grain output of working farmers was taken by landlords and colonialists through land rents and by other means. "Land to the tiller" had been the long held aspiration of farmers. As a result, between the end of the August Revolution and 1953, the revolutionary administration gave back to farmers 422,100 hectares (according to data compiled on 3,653 villages) in the North and 410,000 hectares in the South that had been taken from the French colonialists and reactionary landowners or was fallow or public cropland. In October 1945, the government issued a circular reducing land rents 25 percent compared to what they were before the revolution. In December 1953, the Agrarian Reform Law was promulgated. The agrarian policy led to the abolition of exploitative production relations in the countryside, to the liberation of production forces and restored enthusiasm to our armed forces and people, thereby making an important contribution to the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu. By 1958, when agrarian reform in the North was successfully completed, 810,000 hectares of cropland had been confiscated or requisitioned from landowners and distributed to 2.1 million households consisting of 8.3 million persons. In the South: "the southern revolution achieved invincible power because the people of the South, who included a large force of more than 10 million farmers, enjoyed the benefits of the true rights of nationhood and democracy secured by the

revolution."(1) However, after liberation (1975), very large disparities in cropland ownership were still widespread (in rural areas, about 20 to 30 percent of households were poor farmers and worked for hire); therefore, positive steps were taken to redistribute cropland in the South and abolish exploitation by wealthy farmers and other bourgeois elements in the countryside.

The socialist transformation of the various segments of the economy, which brought the major portion of the economy based on private ownership of the means of production into the socialist economy, was carried out immediately after the total liberation of the North in 1954. As we embarked on the period of transition to socialism, together with intensifying the cooperativization of agriculture and the handicraft trades, the state carried out the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce. By 1975, the socialist economy in the North accounted for 84.1 percent of national income, 95.5 percent of the value of total industrial output, 97.1 percent of the value of total agricultural output...

When the South was totally liberated and the entire country began the advance to socialism, the North continued to perfect and strengthen the new production relations and the South began carrying out the socialist transformation of the private, capitalist economy, the cooperativization of agriculture, the reorganization of the handicraft trades and small commerce and the nationalization of the basic industrial and commercial units of the comprador bourgeoisie, of traitors and bourgeoisie who had fled overseas. The state-operated segment of the economy began growing quickly and strongly. By 1984, the socialist economy accounted for more than 60 percent of the country's gross social product. More than 15,600 agricultural cooperatives had been established (not including the 27,300 agricultural production collectives in the South). In the North, cooperative member households accounted for 97 percent of working farm households. We had several hundred central and local state farms and several thousand state-operated and joint public-private industrial enterprises. In 1985, we are trying to virtually complete agricultural cooperativization in the South while continuing to strengthen and perfect the new production relations.

Building the Material and Technical Bases of Socialism

Prior to the revolution, the material and technical bases of our country's economy were exceedingly small and outmoded. There was no heavy industry. Light industry was crippled. Agriculture was based on monoculture. The economy was entirely dependent upon foreign countries and, in addition, sustained heavy damages during the war years. Just as the August Revolution broke out, dikes began collapsing in Bac Bo: 17 dike sections ruptured, inundating many provinces in the midlands and lowlands of Bac Bo. Prior to then, the French colonialists had invested primarily in the mining industry (between 1913 and 1945, 40 percent of the capital invested in industry throughout Indochina was invested in mining) with the aim of plundering our valuable raw materials and sending them to France. Our country had not one metal refining installation, not one machine works, not one chemical plant. It had nothing more than a few distilleries, breweries, match factories and textile mills. There were only about 90,000 manual workers and civil servants

in the entire country. During the period from 1930 to 1945, there were only a few hundred civil servants who had an academy or college education and the entire water conservancy sector had only 12 cadres. Electricity output per capita never exceeded 5 kwh. During the war against France, the majority of the irrigation systems in the North was destroyed by the French imperialists. Following the signing of the 1954 Geneva Accords, the French imperialists dismantled much of their machinery and took it along with many technical cadres to the South. When we took over the management of the capital, Hanoi had only 15 college educated cadres working in industry. Industry, which consisted of 20 outmoded enterprises, many components of which were in need of repair, components accounted for only 1.5 percent of the total value of industrial and agricultural output in the North. From 1965 to 1973, economic installations and even residential centers were the targets of heavy attacks by U.S. air and naval forces. In the South, under the neo-colonialist regime of the United States, economic development was crippled and restricted to a number of units in light industry, the food products industry and the communications-transportation sector. On the day that the South was totally liberated and the country was reunified, the material-technical bases of the national economy shared one major characteristic: "small-scale production still predominated within the economy."

In view of these circumstances, our party and state have given attention to strengthening the material-technical bases of the national economy with the aim of meeting the requirements of the revolution in each stage.

During the war of resistance against France, guided by the basic thinking of practicing self-reliance and under the slogan "everything for the frontlines, everything for victory," we gave our attention to building water conservancy projects, repairing roads and building a number of industrial installations with a view toward meeting the needs of the war of resistance and thwart the enemy's blockade. The national defense industry produced recoilless rifles, grenade launchers, bazookas, mortars... The sectors of industry and small industry produced nearly 35 million meters of cloth of all types and nearly 11,000 tons of paper. In 1951, state-operated commerce came into being and began to develop. By the end of 1953, the retail sales of state-operated commerce accounted for 20 percent of general merchandise sales and 30 percent of forest and native product sales. In early 1946, in order to strengthen the country's independence and autonomy, our state issued Vietnamese paper money (called finance money). In May 1951, it issued bank notes to replace this finance money.

For a period of 20 years, (1955-1975) in order to meet the requirements of the tasks of building and fighting to defend the common base area of the entire country while supplying more and more manpower and materiel to the South so that it could win victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors, expenditures on economic construction constituted a large portion of the state budget. During the period from 1961 to 1964, expenditures on economic construction accounted for 61.2 percent of total state budget expenditures. The capital invested by the state in construction was concentrated in the material production sectors. Between 1960 and 1975, fixed assets within the material production sectors increased 5.1 times; fixed assets within agriculture and forestry increased 7.2 times; fixed assets within industry increased 4.8 times; and fixed assets

within the transportation and posts-telegraph sector increased 2.8 times (the assets of these two sectors were the assets that were most heavily damaged in the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists). The distribution of labor among the various sectors also underwent marked changes: the labor working in industry increased from 7.0 percent (1960) to 10.6 percent (1975), in capital construction from 1.7 percent to 7.5 percent, in scientific research, education, culture, public health...from 1.3 percent to 6.2 percent of the total labor force. Between 1955 and 1975, the size of the full-time labor force within the material production sector increased 10.4 times. The corps of scientific cadres, technical cadres, professional cadres and technical workers has grown rapidly. In 1975, the number of college educated cadres working in the state sector was 129.4 times higher than in 1955 and the number of cadres with a vocational middle school education was 84.3 times higher. Whereas in 1955 there were only 5 college educated cadres and 15 cadres who had a vocational middle school education for every 1,000 manual workers and civil servants, by 1975, there were 64 college educated persons and 131 persons who had a middle school education for every 1,000 manual workers and civil servants. We took another step forward in building the material-technical bases of socialism. The production capacity of the industrial, communications, building and agricultural sectors increased. In 1975, national income was 1.8 times higher than in 1955; industrial production had increased 16.2 times and agricultural production 1.7 times; total retail sales had increased 7.8 times and the total value of exports and imports had increased 12.5 times...

Since reunification and the start of the advance of the entire country to socialism, despite encountering many difficulties posed by continuous natural disasters and enemy attacks, by the aftereffects of the war and neo-colonialism in the South, by small-scale production and even by mistakes in management, our country's economy has undergone major changes, material-technical bases have been strengthened, many large projects have been constructed and a number of projects have been put into operation. Compared to 1976, the state invested more than twice as much capital in 1984; fixed assets had increased 6.5 times within the material production sector, 7.4 times within industry and 8.3 times within the transportation and posts-telecommunications sectors. The labor force working in the national economy was 1.2 times larger and, within industry, nearly 1.4 times larger. Nearly 3.6 million persons were working in the state sector, accounting for more than 15 percent of the labor employed in the national economy. Generally speaking, all sectors of the economy developed compared to 1976 (national income in 1984 was 1.36 times higher than in 1976; industry had grown 1.76 times and agriculture 1.36 times; investments by the state in capital construction had doubled and the volume of goods circulated had increased 1.7 times). Compared to 1939, industrial production was nearly 14 times higher and agricultural production 3.3 times higher in 1984. However, of greater importance is the fact that the structure of production within the national economy had undergone major changes. The value of industrial output in 1939 only accounted for about one-quarter of the value of industrial and agricultural output. Now, it accounts for one-half. Within industry, group A only accounted for slightly more than one-quarter of industrial output in 1939 (and was mainly handicraft production). Now it accounts for more than one-third and output is 19 times higher than in 1939. This means that the production

output achieved by group A in 20 days in 1984 was the equivalent of the entire output produced in 1939. Today, the output of many industrial products far exceeds 1939 levels: 4.85 billion kwh of electric power, 56.1 times more; more than 6 million tons of coal during the years from 1980 to 1983, 2.4 times more; 1.3 million tons of cement, 4.2 times more; 1.4 million cubic meters of lumber, 2.1 times more; a 4.6 times increase in the ocean fish catch; a 3.8 times increase in salt production; 364 million meters of cloth; 69,500 tons of paper...

Grain output in 1984 was nearly 17.9 million tons, a per capita average of 310 kilograms. Rice output exceeded 15.6 million tons, nearly 3.5 times higher than in 1944 (paddy output per capita was 215 kilograms in 1944 and nearly 270 kilograms in 1984). The output of all perennial industrial crops, such as coffee, tea, rubber and so forth, is higher than before the revolution. Within agriculture, the most significant developments have been the introduction of science-technology and material-technical bases (water conservancy projects, tractors, fertilizer, pesticides, new varieties and intensive cultivation methods) in production and the implementation of the new contract system, which have led to high crop yields and high output. In livestock production, we are improving livestock and poultry breeds in order to achieve higher yields.

Today, livestock production, although it has yet to become a main production sector, has assumed a role of increasing importance. In 1939, the livestock production sector accounted for less than 17 percent of the total value of agricultural output. In 1984, it accounted for one-fourth of this output, five times more than in 1939.

Communications-transportation are still the weak link in the national economy. However, in 1984, transportation exceeded 11.2 billion ton-kilometers and we had means of ocean transport, air transport...that we did not have prior to the revolution.

Foreign trade has been steadily expanded. During the past 10 years, exports have increased at a faster rate than imports, the trade deficit has been gradually reduced and changes have occurred in the structure of exports: industrial goods now account for nearly 70 percent of the total value of export goods. The structure of imports has also changed: means of production now account for nearly 90 percent of the total value of imports.

During the past several years, we have invested manpower and money in the construction of many large projects. In addition to the many factories that were constructed in previous decades, we have recently begun to build additional hydroelectric power plants: the Da River and Tri An Power Plants; thermoelectric power plants: the Pha Lai, Cau Do and other plants; large coal mines: the Cao Son, Mong Duong and Mao Khe Mines; machine works: the Song Cong Machine Works and the Pha Rung Shipbuilding Enterprise; cement plants: the Bim Son, Hoang Thach and Ha Tien Plants; fiber mills: the Nha Trang, Hanoi and Vinh Mills; and enlarged fertilizer production plants. We have also constructed water conservancy projects, built the Thang Long and Chuong Duong Bridges and expanded seaports. Large areas specializing in the production of rubber and coffee are taking shape. We have been and are conducting

explorations and preparing for the development of petroleum and natural gas on the continental shelf in the Vung Tau-Con Dao zone.

Improving the Material and Cultural Lives of the People

In 1964, Uncle Ho observed: "In years past, our villages and hamlets worked throughout the year but were still hungry and poor throughout the year. Today, our villages and hamlets are bustling scenes of collective ownership in all four seasons of the year. There are schools, child care centers, maternity clinics, clubs, drying yards and storehouses of cooperatives and new houses for cooperative members everywhere. Material life has become increasingly comfortable, spiritual life increasingly progressive." (2) Since then, new stages of development have been reached.

What we hold most precious are the facts that we won our national independence, our people are no longer being exploited by colonialism, either old-style colonialism nor neo-colonialism and the exploiting classes in the countryside and the cities are gradually being abolished.

We eliminated the chronic famines that afflicted one generation after another, the most serious of which was the famine in late 1944 and early 1945 that killed more than 2 million of our fellow countrymen. Immediately after the August Revolution, Uncle Ho gave us the slogan: "Fight the enemy that is hunger, fight the enemy that is ignorance, fight the enemy that is foreign aggression." Throughout the two wars of resistance against France and the United States and up until today, there has not been one widespread famine. This is one of our largest achievements, an achievement that reflects the superior nature of our system.

Strong development has occurred in the field of education. During the 1939-1940 school year, the entire country had only 86 level II and level III schools, of which only 3 level III schools and 16 level II schools were public schools, and only 1 college, which had an enrollment of 515 students. Today, there are more than 12 million persons attending school in our country, from nursery schools to colleges, under many different forms of study: formal classroom training, supplementary education, on-the-job training, correspondence courses... Thus, one of every five citizens is attending school. On the college and academy level (including those of the armed forces), the country now has 124 schools with an enrollment of more than 13,000 students.

We have established a widespread public health network to provide for the health care needs of the people, a network that combines Eastern and Western medicine, disease prevention and medical treatment. As a result, a number of social diseases have been virtually wiped out and major epidemics no longer occur. Attention has been given to protecting the health of mothers and children. In 1943, the entire country had only 524 doctors and physicians. Today, we have more than 55,000. Hospitals and medical aid stations have more than 200,000 beds. Thus, whereas there was once only 0.23 physicians and doctors for every 10,000 persons, today there are 9.3. There has been a very large decline in the death rate, from 2-2.6 percent during the period from 1931 to 1940 to only 0.72 percent today.

The spiritual life of the people has been constantly improved. The number of books published has steadily risen. The mass media have grown rapidly. Together with the activities of the professional art troupes, film units and so forth, the mass cultural movement has developed strongly. The lifestyle of the new culture has developed widely in rural areas together with the "tile homes" movement and the "every family has three projects" movement (a well, a bathhouse and a privy). Along with the very large investments made by the state in housing construction, public welfare projects and the services of socialist commerce are also being strengthened and expanded. Here, mention must also be made of the large efforts that have been made to help change and improve the material and spiritual lives of the ethnic minorities.

On the basis of the achievements that have been recorded, with the experiences that have been gained, under the leadership of the party, by displaying patriotism, love of socialism and the spirit of collective ownership, by developing the strengths of the country and with the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, our people will overcome every difficulty and make our country grander and more beautiful as was the wish of the esteemed Uncle Ho.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Duoi la co ve vang cua Dang, vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi, tien len gianh nhung thang loi moi"[Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence and Freedom, for Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 17.
2. "Bao cao cua Ho Chu tich tai Hoi nghi chinh tri dac biet"[Report by President Ho at the Special Political Conference], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, p 9.

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INITIAL EXPERIENCES IN BUILDING THE DISTRICT AND STRENGTHENING THE DISTRICT LEVEL IN CAI LAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 68-73

[Article by Le Van Khoi, secretary of the Cai Lay District Party Committee]

[Text] Building the district and strengthening the district level are a major policy of strategic significance of our party. Over the past several years, in the effort to implement this policy, our district has had to grope about and proceed gradually in order to gain experience and then move forward on the basis of the experience gained. We were initially confused about how to select guidelines and establish stages of development that are consistent with the district's labor and arable land; how to organize production and distribute labor in order to develop the district's existing potentials; and how to establish economic ties that yield the highest possible returns, result in the production of much wealth for society and enable us to meet the everyday needs of the district's people and fulfill obligations to the state.

Cai Lay started out with only 773 square meters of rice fields per capita. One-fourth of its cropland had been lying fallow for many years. Many areas within our district were experiencing continuous crop failures and the people of the district were encountering very many difficulties. This situation faced the party organization and people of Cai Lay with the very large tasks of restoring production in order to stabilize the standard of living of the people and preparing the initial bases needed to begin building the district and strengthening the district level.

With the assistance of the sectors on the central level and the assistance of the province, we have established the guidelines and stages of development of the district between now and 1990.

We have closely tied economic construction to building the national defense system, building the new, socialist countryside and building the basic organizations in order to insure the building of a solid and strong district.

During the past several years, under the guidelines mentioned above, Cai Lay District has brought about important changes. Some of the district's socio-economic targets for 1985 have nearly been met or already been exceeded. Our district's most striking achievement is that we have put agricultural

production on the momentum of steady, stable development. The district's average rice yield currently exceeds 10.5 tons per hectare per year. Initial material-technical bases supporting intensive cultivation to raise crop yields have been built and are having an impact: the fields within each economic area have been improved in accordance with an approved master plan. The system of stations and farms has been established. We have built and are continuing to build industrial, small industry and handicraft units and are gradually establishing an agro-industrial economic structure through suitable stages of development, thereby establishing close ties between the basic units and the district, between the district and the province.

Much progress has also been made in the other areas of the district's work that are related to the material and spiritual lives of the district's people. Political security and social order have been firmly maintained.

Through the building of the district in Cai Lay, we have gained the following initial experiences:

First, in building the district and strengthening the district level, it is necessary at the very outset to establish guidelines and stages of development with the aim of forming the district's economic structure. In 1977, with the assistance of the central level and the province, Cai Lay conducted investigations, zoned the different areas of the district, conducted planning and formulated the district's socio-economic plan. The objective of this plan is to develop the district into an agro-industrial district. On the basis of the district's master plan approved by the state, we conducted other forms of planning, such as planning the establishment of cooperatives, communications and posts-telecommunications planning, water conservancy planning, etc.

We thoroughly explained these various types of planning and these plans to the district party organization and gained the endorsement of the various sectors within the province. We recognized that building the district involves a process of steadfast and creative efforts, efforts that proceed from a low to a high level of development, from decentralization to centralization, from the incomplete to the complete.

With this in mind, we selected a starting point. We realized that it was first of all necessary to step up agricultural production, which is a field in which the locality has many potentials and advantages. During the first years, in addition to restoring 5,000 hectares of rice fields to production, all of the district's capabilities (labor, land, capital and materials) were devoted to grain production. We increased the turnover of fields from roughly 1.5 times to 2.38 times per year. Cai Lay mobilized millions of mandays to construct fields (prepare field surfaces, build area and plot embankments and build water conservancy systems), thereby establishing the basic conditions needed to expand the amount of area under cultivation and raise yields through intensive cultivation. Our district focused efforts on building the system of stations and farms supporting high yield rice production. The farming methods and technical standards applied by the district during the past several production seasons have yielded high economic returns. For the past several years, the entire district has been concentrating on the construction of water conservancy projects. In 1977 and 1978, when the entire province was hit by

drought and planthopper infestations were very heavy, Cai Lay, as a result of providing close guidance, managed to maintain its rice yield. Since 1980, Cai Lay has taken a leap forward: the average rice yield exceeds 10.5 tons per hectare per year and overall output is twice as high as in 1976. Since 1981, the output of subsidiary food crops and industrial crops has also increased significantly. In 1981, the amount of area under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops and industrial crops increased 70 percent compared to 1978, the year during which the previous record was set on the amount of area under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops. The district's per capita grain output rose from 680 kilograms in 1979 to 940 kilograms in 1983. The district's hog herd has nearly doubled in size compared to 1976.

Only by stabilizing the supply of grain can Cai Lay establish the conditions needed to begin building the district economic structure called for in its planning (the district's planning divides the district into three production areas: an area specializing in rice production; an area specializing in the production of perennial and annual industrial crops and crops and livestock products for exportation; and an area of newly cleared land for the cultivation of annual industrial crops and timber bearing trees). Since 1980, Cai Lay has been building state farms that specialize in pineapple production, sugarcane production and afforestation in the area of newly cleared land, thus stepping up the production of sugarcane, pineapples and the various types of vegetables and subsidiary food crops, and has been expanding the trades and building public welfare projects. Also since then, the district has gradually established coordination between agricultural production and industrial production on the basic level, the main purpose of which is to have industry support agricultural production. The process of forming the district's industry is the process of restoring industrial plants and building new ones and gradually reorganizing the small-scale units of families and centralizing them within large-scale enterprises that are equipped with better equipment. The district is currently centralizing the production of sugar, the milling of rice and the processing of wood. In addition, the district has constructed state-operated machine, brick, paper and livestock feed processing enterprises. The district's small industry and handicraft production, although not yet in line with the economic structure of the district, is on the momentum of development. The value of the district's small industry and handicraft output rose from 800,000 dong in 1976 to 120 million dong in 1981 (computed at 1980 fixed prices). Generally speaking, the industry, small industry and handicraft trades of Cai Lay District are developing in the correct direction and supporting agricultural production, especially the processing of agricultural products.

Distribution and circulation play a very important role in building the district. When production was not developing, Cai Lay attached importance in its distribution and circulation activities to encouraging the people to do everything possible to help stimulate production and produce many products for society. Since 1980, especially during the past few years, the district's grain production has been relatively stable and commodity output has increased considerably, which has demanded that distribution and circulation be carried out well within the district. We have begun to control grain output, primarily rice output, and have gradually expanded our control over other products, such as sugarcane, coconuts, pork, shrimp and exported vegetables

and fruit. The district has gained increasing control over goods and the flow of money. As a result of controlling goods and money and through credit, pricing and commerce activities, the district has gradually been able to take more initiative in organizing the daily lives of the people. And, only in this way can the district establish the conditions needed to meet its supply and raw material needs through the four different sources of supplies and materials and accumulate capital for expanded reproduction and the construction of material-technical bases within the district. In 1980, the district's state-operated commerce did 100 million dong in business in procurements and sales and exports totalled 9 million dong. Contributions to the state have increased with each passing year (151 million dong were collected for the budget in 1984, nearly twice as much as in 1983). Norms on the delivery of products to the state have also increased.

The building of the district demands an increasingly high level of planning, demands a determined struggle against spontaneity in production and distribution-circulation, against illegal ways of earning a living and against the acts of sabotage of the enemy. Therefore, strengthening the socialist system of law and closely tying economic construction to the strengthening of the security and national defense systems are indispensable requirements in building the district. Cai Lay is aware of these needs and has achieved results: the leaps forward that we have made in economic development have been accompanied by significant progress in the field of security and national defense. The economy and the field of security and national defense are closely linked, are having an impact upon and stimulating one another's development.

Secondly, building the district and strengthening the district level also involve simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions within the district. The victories that we have recorded in building the district are victories of the three revolutions.

The years of strong development in Cai Lay have also been the years of a district-wide agricultural cooperativization movement and the virtual completion of the effort to bring farmers into collective production. Today, Cai Lay has 19 cooperatives and 519 production collectives, which account for 95 percent of farm households and cropland. Although their level of management is not uniform, all production collectives are, generally speaking, operating well, the standard of living of their members has been improved, the capital funds of the collective have grown rapidly and obligations to the state are being fully met. Along with agricultural cooperatives and production collectives, marketing cooperatives have been established in the villages. To date, the district has established nearly 300 stores and sales points. Some villages also have a credit cooperative and a small industry and handicraft cooperative.

Agricultural cooperativization in Cai Lay has been a process of overcoming many difficulties, of steadfast agitation and steadfast educational and organizational efforts. As a result of guidance received from the central level and the province, as a result of fully understanding the need to step up production while carrying out cooperativization and as a result of the experience gained in organizing the Tan Hoi Cooperative and the Long Khanh

Production Collective, our district has steadily progressed from a low to a high level of development. Through education and agitation, we have clearly shown the masses the benefits to be derived from earning their livings collectively. Cai Lay carried out the redistribution of cropland and brought all farmers into production solidarity units. The district took many measures to help farmers establish increasingly close ties to their collective organizations and enacted policies that encourage the establishment of production collectives. When Party Secretariat Directive 100 was issued, the district promptly launched the cooperativization movement and implemented product contracts at the very outset. One after the other, numerous production solidarity teams were developed into production collectives. At present, the entire district is making active preparations to merge production collectives and establish cooperatives, each with 250 to 300 hectares of land.

In conjunction with transforming agriculture, Cai Lay has also been carrying out the transformation of private industry and commerce. Although this effort has been underway in the district for several years, it has not been continuous or well coordinated.

As regards the scientific-technological revolution, we are well aware of the key role that it plays in the revolution within the district. Cai Lay has attached very much importance to scientific research projects, the application of scientific-technological advances in production and the introduction of additional technical equipment in the locality, with efforts focused on supporting the development of grain production and the expansion of the other sectors and trades. Cai Lay is a district that quickly formulated a scientific plan for the development of a high yield rice growing area, investigated and analyzed the various factors related to agricultural production and adopted intensive cultivation methods based on suitable production standards. Cai Lay is a district that has many teams producing seed of new, high yield rice varieties, teams that have helped change the allocation of varieties throughout the province, which has been a factor of important significance in the changes that have occurred in the production of rice within the province since 1979. Cai Lay has steadfastly implemented the various measures involved in intensive cultivation well and made every effort to establish rational formulas and standards in the use of chemical fertilizers. We have also attached importance to organic fertilizer and quickly learned how to use phosphate fertilizer, instead of standing idly by in the face of the shortage of chemical fertilizers. Crop protection efforts have been timely and effective. In addition to constructing fields with irrigation and drainage networks that have provided increasingly better support of intensive cultivation, Cai Lay has built a system of tractor, veterinary and crop protection stations, bee farms, fish farms, hog farms and state farms specializing in the production of pineapples and sugarcane. These stations and farms have had a clear impact and are resulting in the formation of complete economic-technical clusters within each subarea of the district. Although the scientific-technological revolution within our district is not as strong as it could be, it has been the decisive factor in the development of agriculture in Cai Lay in recent years.

Cai Lay has also attached very much importance to the ideological and cultural revolution. The organizations of the party and the mass organizations have

given their attention to teaching socialist awareness to the masses and raising this awareness; cultivating the sense of collective ownership of the working people; waging a determined struggle against the spontaneity of farmers; disseminating to the masses scientific and technical knowledge; raising the cultural standards and production management standards of the masses; and making everyone a new, socialist person. Cai Lay has given attention to teaching and establishing the new way of life. It has made efforts to build additional schools and classes to satisfy the educational needs of the people, conduct training classes for village, hamlet and production collective cadres and develop the cultural, literary-art and physical culture-sport movements in order to bring the masses close to the new system and cultivate within them the consciousness of acting in the interests of the entire country, in the interests of the locality and in the interests of their families.

During the past several years, Cai Lay has made every effort to develop production while carrying out the transformation and building of the new, socialist countryside. Today, every village has a public health station with one or two physicians and one general school. Three of every 10 citizens are attending school. There are three public health cadres and two hospital beds for every 10,000 citizens, three times more than in 1976. Cai Lay has a highway network that extends to practically every village of the district (139 bridges and 600 kilometers of roads have been constructed in the countryside). Cultural activities, literary-art activities and mass media broadcasts are being conducted and combined at each economic-technical cluster. For the time being, the housing of the people is stable. The wired radio and telephone systems now reach into many villages of the district.

Thirdly, building the district and strengthening the district level pertain to all levels and sectors but are carried out mainly at the initiative of the district itself. During the beginning, when we were selected as a pilot project district by the province and the central level, our district had the thinking of waiting for and relying upon assistance from the upper level, consequently, the stagnation in every aspect of socio-economic activity continued. Under the guidance of the province, the district promptly launched a struggle against this incorrect thinking and strongly encouraged the spirit of self-reliance, initiative and creativity in overcoming difficulties and making every effort to develop the potentials and strengths of the district in order to build the district. However, it was not until 1979, when we were given financial management responsibilities, that our district had the conditions needed to develop local capabilities. We have attached full importance to the distribution and utilization of social labor. We have surveyed and analyzed the labor situation within the district and now have a basic grasp of it. We have planned the distribution of labor and are gradually implementing this planning. By means of increasing the coefficient of cropland use, we have expanded the amount of area under the cultivation of industrial and fruit crops, expanded livestock production and provided farmers with additional work. Cai Lay has relocated thousands of persons from densely populated areas to the area in which new lands are being opened. The development of industry, small industry and the handicraft trades has provided jobs for 5,000 persons within the district, many of whom were once small merchants. We have made highly effective use of the obligatory mandays worked

by each citizen. In recent years, the district has utilized nearly 9 million mandays in the construction of water conservancy projects, the construction of roads and the clearing of land. With less than 150 cadres and personnel on its staff, our district has been using the majority of the labor available under the socialist labor obligation, the long-term labor obligation and compulsory labor to clear land, plant crops in economic zones and build state farms. Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," projects within the district, especially the majority of public welfare projects, have been constructed using labor and capital contributed by the people. The total value of the mandays contributed by the people in recent years stands at 306 million dong. Today, mobilizing the labor of the people under the labor obligation has become standard practice. This labor is organized in units that have their own command.

Fourthly, in building the district and strengthening the district level, it is first of all necessary to improve the ability of the organizations of the party and the administration on the basic level to lead and guide implementation; at the same time, the organization and apparatus of the district level must be sufficiently competent and well coordinated to meet the requirements involved in socio-economic management within the district.

In recent years, Cai Lay has taken measures to strengthen the corps of cadres in the villages, provide additional cadres where sufficient cadres have been lacking and accelerate the training of cadres emerging from revolutionary movements of the masses. The district has closely observed and guided efforts to strengthen the party, administration and mass organizations within the villages. At present, 43 of the district's 64 basic organizations of the party have been recognized as pure, solid and strong basic organizations of the party. Each village in our district has an average of 1,500 hectares of land, a population of 10,000, from 20 to 40 agricultural production collectives, a marketing cooperative, a number of small industry and handicraft units (sugar mills, rice mills and sawmills) and many public welfare projects. Therefore, village cadres must possess considerable economic management skills. We have tapped the initiative and creativity of the villages in organizing production, in combining agricultural production with the processing of agricultural products at basic units and in controlling distribution and circulation in order to meet the requirements of production and everyday life within the village in accordance with the plan of the district. We have launched a spirited emulation movement among the villages to step up production, build the village and fulfill obligations to the state. This movement is of important significance in the building of the district because it creates a combined strength within the district.

Following liberation, the new apparatus of the district was organized in a piecemeal fashion. The vast majority of the district's cadres had been resistance war cadres and the district had practically no management or professional cadres. This apparatus caused the district to encounter very many difficulties in the early years. Therefore, building the apparatus of the district has also been an important part of building the district. Today, the apparatus of the district level is larger and its operations have been put on a more regular basis; however, the requirements of tasks are still not being met. Some aspects of the division of management responsibilities among

the sectors of the central, provincial and district levels are not truly specific, clear or stable. To build the apparatus of the sectors on the district level, the province has given its attention to providing the district with a number of additional cadres; however, the cadres now working for the district are primarily persons we merged from mass movements or were transferred to their sector from the army, are primarily persons who have been trained and matured within the locality. The number of scientific and technical cadres is still small. At present, excluding teachers, the district has 33 college educated cadres (most of whom have been assigned to the agricultural sector, with the rest being assigned to industry, the statistical sector, commerce and public health) and a number of cadres who have a middle school education. Although the number and quality of the district's cadres do not meet requirements, many of these persons have grown and are doing good work. The removal of the obstacles posed by bureaucratic administrative management and subsidization has helped the sectors, enterprises, stations and farms develop the spirit of initiative and creativity and expand their production and business. At present, our district is refining its cadre planning. Under this planning, in addition to the cadres attending schools of the province and central level (2,200 district and village cadres), we have also been holding cadre training classes within the district. Through continuous effort, the apparatus of the district has now been strengthened.

We have recorded noteworthy achievements in the building of the district in Cai Lay but are still in the process of working while gaining experience, of continuously supplementing and refining. The party organization and people of Cai Lay are determined to make their district increasingly solid and strong.

7809

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HOA VANG DISTRICT: TEN YEARS OF BUILDING AND GROWTH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 74-79

[Article by Nguyen Tien Qua, chairman of the Hoa Vang District People's Committee]

[Text] Hoa Vang, a district in northern Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, measures 85,000 hectares and has a population of 156,000, 60,452 of whom are laborers. Hoa Vang District is divided into three areas: the coastal area, the lowland area and the mountainous and midland area and is a belt of the municipality of Da Nang.

During the war years, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys ruthlessly attacked Hoa Vang with a very large military force, causing untold suffering and sorrow in our district: two-thirds of our agricultural land was rendered fallow or turned into military zones; two-thirds of the district's hamlets were razed by bulldozers; production was paralyzed; nearly 10,000 persons were unemployed; two-thirds of the population was illiterate; malaria and epidemics were widespread; society was rife with the ills of neo-colonialism, etc.

After liberation day (April 1975), under the leadership of the party, most directly the leadership of the Quang Nam-Da Nang Provincial Party Committee, the people of Hoa Vang overcame the difficulties left behind by the old system and gradually began advancing the socialist revolution in the district.

Our district has experienced three periods of struggle: the period spent restoring production (1975-1978); the period spent transforming agriculture, industry and commerce and strengthening the administration on the basic level (1979-1981); and the period of concerted investments in the development of the potentials that lie in the arable land and labor of the district, which began in 1982 and continues today. Once a place so ravaged by war that virtually nothing remained, Hoa Vang District has today recorded a number of encouraging achievements. We have begun to resolve the grain problem, begun to develop industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, to redistribute labor and establish an agro-industrial structure within the district. Together with the economic advances that have been made, development has also occurred in the fields of education, public health, culture and literature-art; the standard of living of the people has been gradually improved; and political security and social order have been strengthened with each passing day.

Below are some specific figures:

	<u>Unit of Calculation</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>Increase</u>
--Amount of area under cultivation	hectares	9,000	25,500	2.8 times
--Total grain output	tons	20,400	70,000	3.4
--Grain mobilized	tons	2,000	16,013	8
--Value of total industrial output	millions of dong	2.4	45	18
--Value of capital construction	millions of dong		262	
--Number of persons attending school		16,000	46,000	2.8
--Number of schools			51	
--Number of child care centers			75	
--Number of hospitals and medical aid stations		1	18	18
--Public health cadres	per 10,000 persons		40	
--Number of hospital beds	per 10,000 persons		15	
--Rate of population growth		3.2	1.75	

As a result of the above achievements, Hoa Vang District has had the honor of receiving four Labor Orders from the State Council, 21 Certificates of Commendation from the Council of Ministers and various ministries, 37 banners and 152 Certificates of Commendation from the province... The Hoa Vang District party organization has been recognized by the Party Secretariat as a "solid and strong district party organization."

From the realities of leading and guiding the movement of Hoa Vang District over the past 10 years, we have drawn the following several experiences:

First, to advance the cause of the revolution, every effort must be made to build a solid and strong party organization and these efforts must be closely tied to the performance of the political task within the locality.

The Hoa Vang party organization has a tradition of unity and a tradition of being forged and challenged in the revolutionary struggle. However, more than these traditions were needed to meet the requirements of socialist transformation and socialist construction. Therefore, we adopted the policy of making every effort to build a party organization that is solid and strong in every respect and constantly improving the party organization's ability to lead and its fighting strength.

Our party organization organized many drives to study the directives and resolutions of the party with the aim of giving cadres and party members a clear understanding of the line on the socialist revolution, especially the line on economic development, and, on this basis, build their determination to

fully implement the resolutions and directives of the party and struggle to correct improper thinking and attitudes. We have considered the foremost standard for evaluating the qualifications of a party member to be whether or not he sets good examples and gains the participation of the masses in implementing the directives and resolutions of the party and the policies and laws of the state. At the same time, we have actively guided the various places that were selected as the sites of pilot projects and used the results and experience gained at these places to continue educating and raising the confidence of cadres, party members and the people in the lines and policies of the party.

Organizationally, in conjunction with strengthening the district level, we have taken positive steps to strengthen the basic organizations of the party and the mass organizations at basic units. We have also strengthened the corps of cadres from the district to the basic level, especially the corps of key village and cooperative cadres. The district party committee put a number of standing committee members in charge of several key areas and a number of district party committee members in charge of several important villages and sectors. The district party committee has constantly kept in close touch with basic units, promptly corrected mistakes and helped the party committees of basic units grasp the principles and methods of leadership, gain a thorough understanding of the policies of the party and laws of the state and firmly maintain internal unity. The basic party organizations gave their attention to mobilizing the masses and building the corps of cadres and party members through the revolutionary movements of the masses. At many places, the party organization relied upon the masses and arranged for them to contribute their opinions in the selection and assignment of cadres, criticize cadres and party members, introduce outstanding workers as candidates for acceptance into the party and participate in the expulsion of unqualified members from the party.

Today, the party organizations and the apparatus of the administration within our district have begun to be solidified and strengthened. The key cadres of the various party committees and the people's committee are younger. Their average age is 32.5. The number of party members has more than tripled compared to the number we had on liberation day. The fighting strength of the basic organizations of the party has been uniformly increased. We consider these to be important premises for constantly improving the quality of leadership of the district party organization, increasing the management effectiveness of the administration and upholding the right of collective ownership of the working people in every field.

Secondly, we have vigorously upheld the revolutionary tradition of being "loyal, brave, tenacious and taking the lead in killing Americans," have relied upon the masses and launched mass movements to implement the lines and policies of the party and the positions of the party organization.

The people of Hoa Vang have a very glorious tradition of being patriotic and resisting foreign aggression. In the resistance against the United States for national salvation, Hoa Vang shared along with the rest of the province the honor of being called by the 10 Golden Words: "Loyal, brave, tenacious and taking the lead in killing Americans." The people of Hoa Vang contributed

much manpower and material to the war of resistance, recorded many very large feats of arms and were awarded by the state 12 "Bulwark of the Fatherland" medals, 110 Military Exploit Orders, 687 Liberation Orders and 4,560 Liberation Medals. Dozens of units and hundreds of persons were given the titles "Hero" and "Brave American Killer."

In the new stage of the revolution, in order to complete the tasks set by the party, it has been our policy that we must constantly teach cadres, party members and the people to uphold this glorious revolutionary tradition of the district and bring to the tasks of building socialism and defending the fatherland the tenacious will that was displayed in the struggle against the United States. We consider launching revolutionary movements of the masses to be a matter of decisive significance in insuring the successful performance of the locality's political task.

Immediately after liberation, we launched a movement among the people to return to their former villages, disarm bombs and mines, clear and restore cropland and restore production. The people responded to this policy with great enthusiasm. Many persons bravely gave their lives in the effort to disarm bombs and mines, an effort that liberated more than 5,900 hectares of farmland. Less than 2 years after liberation, the living conditions of the people had begun to be stabilized and the majority of fallow land had been restored to production.

Once we had increased our farmland, we mobilized the masses to build small-scale water conservancy projects and then, under the guideline "the state and the people working together," built electric pump stations and medium-size reservoirs. During the first 5 years, the district constructed a water conservancy network large enough to irrigate and drain some 5,000 hectares of farmland, thereby increasing the amount of area under the cultivation of wet rice to 14,000 hectares. The total amount of capital invested in water conservancy projects now stands at 75 million dong.

In conjunction with the movement to build water conservancy projects, we launched the agricultural cooperativization movement. The district party committee viewed cooperativization as a widespread, intense political campaign within the district and led and guided it closely. As a result, in the space of only 2 years, we established 22 agricultural production cooperatives and virtually completed agricultural cooperativization within the district.

In recent years, we have launched campaigns to raise crop yields through intensive cultivation by utilizing new varieties and new techniques and to improve management within agriculture. We have also launched movements to step up the production of consumer goods and develop small industry and the handicraft trades, thereby bringing about a change in the close relationship between agriculture and industry.

On the ideological and cultural front, many successive movements have also been launched, such as the movement to wipe out illiteracy, the supplementary education movement among cadres and the people, the movement to build the three sanitation projects, the planned parenthood campaign, the campaign to plan gravesites, the campaign to expand the amount of area under cultivation,

etc. Our district wiped out illiteracy in late 1979 and seven villages are now conducted good planned parenthood campaigns.

The signing of emulation pledges among cooperatives, basic production and business units, agencies and enterprises within the district as well as between units of the district and other localities has generated an atmosphere of spirited emulation and yielded practical results in production and work. And, from these emulation movements, many advanced models have emerged. Within agriculture, these models are the Hoa Chau 1, Hoa Chau 2, Hoa Tien 1, Hoa Tien 2, Hoa Xuan, Hoa Phuoc, Hoa Quy and other cooperatives that have recorded rice yields of 12 to 16 tons per hectare per year. Within small industry and the handicraft trades, they are the Hoa Tho Lime Cooperative, the Hung Viet Paper Cooperative, the Thanh Binh Brick and Tile Cooperative, the Quyet Tien Lumber Cooperative, the Nam O Exported Fish Sauce Cooperative... The Hoa Chau 1 Cooperative is the "nationwide leader of the information movement on the basic level." Hoa Tien Village has been recognized by the Ministry of National Defense as a "Determined To Win" unit for 10 years in a row. Hoa Hai Village is a unit that has maintained good coastal security, done a good job of combating attempts to flee the country by land across the border or by sea, etc.

Facts have also shown us that in order to launch revolutionary movements of the masses, the various party committee echelons, agencies of the administration and mass organizations must coordinate closely in mass agitation and teach ideology well. At the same time, they must enact policies that provide reasonable material incentives.

Thirdly, we have simultaneously carried out the "three revolutions" and closely combined socialist transformation with socialist construction, with primary emphasis upon construction.

Transforming the old production relations and establishing, strengthening and perfecting the new production relations are the course that must be followed to build socialism in our district. On the agricultural front, in keeping with the policy of the party, our district rapidly and systematically redistributed cropland to farmers, quickly organized work rotation and exchange teams and, where possible, immediately established cooperatives and gradually brought farmers into collective production. We have combined the cooperativization movement with the movement to build water conservancy projects. Depending upon the specific situation, we have, at some places, organized cooperatives before organizing the construction of water conservancy projects. However, there have also been places at which the construction of water conservancy projects has been carried out first in order to lay the base for cooperativization. Where possible, these two efforts have been carried out simultaneously, that is, cooperativization has been closely coordinated with the construction of water conservancy projects. The response by the local people to this approach has been enthusiastic. To date, the district has established 24 agricultural cooperatives, which consist of 300 production units and represent 82 percent of the labor force and nearly 79 percent of farmland.

Within small industry and handicraft production, we have organized handicraftsmen in cooperative production teams and established a number of specialized cooperatives. In the field of distribution and circulation, we have concerned ourselves with building socialist commerce while intensifying the transformation of private merchants and improving the management of the market. To date, the district has established 81 small industry and handicraft cooperatives and 41 cooperative production teams at which some 7,500 laborers are working. We have also established 6 state stores and 18 marketing cooperatives with 132 sales points, which are capable of controlling the majority of the rural market and serving the people well.

Together with the efforts described above, we have attached importance to carrying out the scientific and technological revolution in order to support transformation and construction within the locality. The district party committee has assumed direct guidance over the investments made in science and technology and established a number of scientific facilities supporting production. Scientific advances have gradually been introduced in production in fields and within enterprises. New varieties of rice are in widespread use, intensive cultivation practices have been implemented in a relatively well-coordinated manner and a relatively rational allocation of crops has been established. As a result, crop and livestock yields within our district have risen rather rapidly. In 1984, despite very many difficulties with the weather and supplies, our district recorded an average rice yield in excess of 10 tons per hectare for the first time and one cooperative recorded a yield of 17 tons per hectare.

Recognizing the importance of the ideological and cultural revolution, the Hoa Vang party organization has closely linked ideological and cultural work to socialist transformation and socialist construction. Together with wiping out illiteracy and opening more supplementary education classes, we have been encouraging the people to gradually eradicate the remnants of neo-colonialism, build the new culture and mold the new, socialist man. We have attached special importance to teaching the thinking of collective ownership to the people. At the same time, importance has also been attached to ridding ourselves of the decadent, reactionary cultural products left behind by neo-colonialism, eradicating corrupt customs and superstitious beliefs and establishing new customs for festivals, weddings and funerals in order to make practical contributions to building the new countryside and establishing the new way of life. The district has constructed 34 wired radio stations and 150 kilometers of wire lines, installed 7,000 large and small loudspeakers and established 15 cemeteries with 12,000 gravesites.

Fourthly, we have restructured production and improved management from the district to the basic levels.

On the basis of the natural and social features of the district and with the assistance of the upper level, we developed a master plan and a plan for each area of the district, divided the district into four economic-population zones and six economic-technical clusters and redefined the general production guidelines of the district as well as the production guidelines of each area. On this basis, the district has assisted the basic units in clearly defining their strengths and those jobs that are of central importance in order to

adopt plans for making rational investments in each different area and enable the basic units to take the initiative in managing their work. During the past 5 years, we have provided 3,700 surplus laborers in agriculture with jobs in small industry and the handicraft trades; sent 3,000 persons to clear land and build the new economic zone in the western region of the district; and sent more than 2,000 persons to build new economic zones outside the province. The agricultural cooperatives have also provided work for a significant portion of their labor force in the subsidiary trades. Today, each agricultural production cooperative is earning anywhere from 500,000 to 2 million dong in additional income from small industry and the handicraft trades.

While restructuring production and redistributing labor, we have given our attention to combining initiative on the part of the basic unit with the role played by the district in regulating the distribution of labor. We have requested that the basic units themselves determine what they need to establish balance between their land and labor force in order to enable them to take the initiative in working out a rational plan for the distribution of labor. The district has been responsible for providing guidance and some assistance with equipment and financing.

Along with restructuring production, we have concerned ourselves with improving management at basic units and implementing the new contract policy within agriculture. In 1984, 100 percent of the district's cooperatives and farm households accepted contracts and all 100 percent met and exceeded contract quotas. The relationship between cooperatives and their members has been strengthened. In production, cooperative members work with enthusiasm. The per capita income in grain within our district has risen from 144 kilograms in 1976 to 450 kilograms in 1984.

Within small industry and the handicraft trades, we have established the following policy: the district manages a number of state-operated enterprises whose technical standards are not complex and whose products primarily serve consumer needs within the district while the subwards and villages manage the production teams and subsidiary household trades. At present, we are organizing the implementation of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee on dismantling bureaucracy and subsidization and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices.

As a result of taking appropriate measures, small industry and handicraft production in Hoa Vang has developed rather strongly along with agriculture. These sectors and trades are producing more than 500 primary products using local raw materials. Small industry and the handicraft trades produced 45 million dong in output in 1984, 18 times more than in 1976. This situation has resulted in steady changes in the ratio between industry and agriculture within our district. In 1976, the value of industrial output only accounted for about 20 percent and agriculture for more than 70 percent of total output value. In 1984, industry accounted for more than 40 percent and agriculture for more than 50 percent of the total value of the district's industrial and agricultural output (excluding forestry).

However, as it proceeds along its course, Hoa Vang District is still encountering difficulties, still has shortcomings and weaknesses. The central and largest difficulties are that the production conditions and material-technical bases of the district are still underdeveloped and the ability of the various party committee echelons and agencies of the administration, from the district to the basic levels, to provide leadership and guidance, especially their ability to guide the performance of economic construction and management tasks, are still limited in many respects and do not yet meet requirements. We are looking for ways to overcome our difficulties and correct our shortcomings so that we can continue to grow and lead the people in successfully completing each revolutionary task within the district and make the district a prosperous and strong district in socialist construction and a solid fortress in defending the fatherland.

7809

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NAM HAI: AN ADVANCED HANDICRAFT COOPERATIVE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in No 8 Aug 85, pp 80-86

[Article by Dam Mai]

[Text] The Nam Hai Glass Cooperative in Kien An District, Haiphong, is a rather special and famous production unit. It is special because more than 80 percent of its members are disabled veterans, members of families of war dead or troops, disabled persons and persons who were once wayward youths and because its director is himself a special class wounded veteran. It is famous because it has for many years been the leader of the nation's small industry and handicraft sector, has received many high awards from the Council of State, the president, the Council of Ministers and many ministries, sectors, mass organizations and localities and has had the honor of welcoming many high ranking leaders of the party and state and many groups of international and domestic guests on visits.

Originally established in 1963 as a cooperative team producing paper boxes for medicine, Nam Hai has now become a glass cooperative equal in size to a state-operated enterprise. It has 430 workers and 35 million dong in fixed assets. It specializes in the production of public health bottles for seven central and local enterprises and produces many high grade glass products for use in production, scientific research and everyday life. The process of the Nam Hai Cooperative's development and growth has been a process of very difficult struggle but also a process in which glorious achievements have been continuously recorded. The growth and achievements of the cooperative have been closely tied to the large accomplishments of Director Nguyen Huu Vong, himself a disabled veteran, in leading and guiding the cooperative's party chapter.

The Director, Disabled Veteran Nguyen Huu Vong

When talking about the Nam Hai Cooperative, it is impossible not to mention Director Nguyen Huu Vong. Likewise, when discussing the life of party member and disabled veteran Nguyen Huu Vong over the past 20 years, it is impossible not to mention the progress that the Nam Hai Cooperative has made. The members of the Nam Hai Cooperative say that Vong is the sole reason for the cooperative's existence, that the Nam Hai Cooperative forged Vong, its founder and leader, its backbone and soul, and made him keep going. Everyone who

meets Vong is moved and feels admiration and respect for this man. The attraction and prestige of this man are, above everything else, the attraction and prestige of a revolutionary militant, of a communist party member who possesses an abundance of energy and a very strong will, who sets good examples and is dedicated to his work, lives a pure and honest life and is filled with kindness and love for his fellow man, for his comrades and colleagues.

A disabled veteran who lost his left arm in the war of resistance against France, suffered a crippling injury to his right arm, is blind in one eye, has only limited vision in the other eye and, in addition, suffers from high blood pressure, Vong qualified for a total state disability allowance. However, he refused to accept it. Instead, he asked to be released from the rehabilitation camp so that he could go look for work to support himself and contribute to society. In 1963, with his 50 dong disabled veterans allowance as capital, he established a cooperative with the view of providing jobs for a number of families who had relatives fighting and working on battlefield B and battlefield C. With that, his lifelong association with the cooperative began. Throughout his 20 years as its director, he has worked with utmost dedication to build a large and strong cooperative. He has always been present at the places where conditions have been the most difficult and severe in order to maintain production and encourage cooperative members to work hard, to work diligently. He regularly inspects the night shift and comes in to inspect production shifts on his days off. Even when it is rainy and cold outside and his injuries cause him pain, he still gets up at 0200 or 0300 hours in the morning to go in and check the kilns. Each day that passes is a day during which he must struggle with his disabilities in order to keep working, in order to attend to each job of the collective.

During the years of U.S. attacks on the North, when many difficulties were encountered organizing production, Vong had to work even harder. While leading production at the cooperative's main unit, he also had to lead the production being carried out at the evacuation site while regularly being present at the combat alert position of the self-defense unit, exhorting its members to be ready to fight. Once, when a boat transporting production materials to the cooperative was sunk in the river by a delayed action bomb, Vong and a number of others bravely and resourcefully salvaged its contents. On another occasion, during very heavy enemy attacks on the coal wharf, Vong organized and headed a 12 man team of volunteers to go get coal under very dangerous circumstances and fully aware of the risk to their lives. During the heavy B-52 bombing raids in late 1972, the entire factory and all the equipment of the cooperative were destroyed and six self-defense soldiers lost their lives. Vong and the cooperative's leadership committee organized a clean up operation and then evacuated the cooperative's members while he and a number of others remained behind to keep an eye on the unit. Despite his severe disabilities, in his leadership of production and combat, he never withdrew to the rear.

Nam Hai is a collective production unit. Supplies and raw materials are usually not supplied to it in exact accordance with contracts. As a result, Vong has had to take the initiative and establish contacts with many different sectors and agencies and work very hard to obtain the raw materials and

supplies needed for production. As a result of these efforts, Nam Hai has, since the day it was established, met and exceeded its production plans, producing a larger output with each passing year and an increasingly wide variety of high quality products.

The members of the Nam Hai Cooperative have a great deal of admiration, respect and praise for their director's personal qualities and virtues, his sense of fairness and the purity of his thinking, feelings and way of life. Vong is now more than 60 years of age and has been a member of the party for nearly 40 years, of which 30 years have been spent living and working without regret as a special class disabled veteran. During his more than 20 years as the director of the cooperative, he has always led a pure, simple and faithful life and maintained a close relationship with each cooperative member. He has given his all to the collective and truly set an example of "diligence, honesty and fairness." Although his economic circumstances and his own living conditions are still difficult and even though he is the director, Vong has made sizable financial contributions to the cooperative but never once demanded any privileges or priorities for himself nor has he every mishandled the property or money of the collective. This has made a large impression upon cooperative members. In his dealings with trade agencies, Vong is sincere and straightforward and tries to avoid "arrangements" that only serve personal interests or partial interests at the expense of the interests of the state. He has cultivated among the members of the Nam Hai Cooperative the sense of providing customers with unconditional service. When personnel from agencies arrive to pick up goods at Nam Hai, regardless of the hour of the day, they receive thorough, quick service and never experience any difficulties or inconvenience. Customers arriving at Nam Hai for the first time leave with a fine impression of the cooperative.

Vong's relationship with the members of the cooperative is one of sincere love and respect. He is close to and knows the circumstances and life of each person and each family. He cares for and helps them in the same way he cares for his own relatives. And, it was he who was determined, and worked hard to persuade the cooperative, to accept the disabled, the blind and wayward youths into the cooperative, provide them with jobs and create the conditions for them to make progress. It is not surprising that all the disabled, the blind and the wayward youths who have grown and matured at the Nam Hai Cooperative respect him and consider him their blood brother.

The Firm Leadership of the Nam Hai Cooperative Party Chapter

The progress and growth of the Nam Hai Cooperative have also been due to the firm leadership provided by the cooperative's party chapter. This leadership has been the basic factor insuring the cooperative's strong development in the correct direction.

During its early years, the Nam Hai Cooperative only had a few party members. The cooperative's party chapter was not established until 1967. Even today, the cooperative only has 18 party members (a little more than 4 percent of its total membership). However, throughout the process of the cooperative's development, the party chapter has endeavored to fulfill its decisive role and has truly been the leadership nucleus of the cooperative.

This is because the party chapter has tried to do a good job of strengthening and building the organization, teaching politics and ideology, building internal unity and intensifying its agitation of the masses, thereby creating a combined strength under its leadership. In particular, the party chapter has done a rather good job of assigning party members to the various fields of work, including mass agitation, while attaching importance to the management of party members. It has given its attention to arranging for party members to engage in self-criticism within the party chapter and within production units from the perspective of the task assigned to each party member and the requirement that each act in accordance with party chapter resolutions. The party chapter has always conducted regular activities. Each year, it arranges for the masses to criticize party members and criticize the leadership provided by the party chapter itself. The masses at Nam Hai have a high assessment of the leadership provided by the party chapter and acknowledge the exemplary, vanguard role played by party members. Their party members' qualifications having been examined on many different occasions, 100 percent of the chapter's members have been recognized as fully qualified. One hundred percent of its members are progressive laborers and many party members are "emulation warriors." In 1984, 9 of the cooperative's 18 "emulation warriors" were party members. The Nam Hai Cooperative Party Chapter was one of the first five basic organizations to be recognized by the Haiphong municipal party organization as a pure, solid and strong basic organization of the party.

To enhance its leadership role, the Nam Hai Cooperative Party Chapter has developed a correct mode of leadership, one that is designed to achieve the combined strength of each organization within the cooperative, from the management board to the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Women's Union. The party chapter and the mass organizations have clearly defined the function of each organization and encouraged the various organizations to take the initiative and work hard to build the cooperative. The leadership role of the party chapter has been most evident in its leadership of the cooperative in organizing production well. Production is a matter of survival to the cooperative, is the measurement of the ability of the party chapter to lead the cooperative. Each year, on the basis of establishing clearly defined production guidelines, the party chapter leads the cooperative in formulating a good production plan and then presents this plan to the various production sections to democratically discuss and organize its implementation. The party chapter has given special attention to leading the cooperative in improving its management and implementing the principle of collective management well. Every member of the cooperative's corps of cadres, from the assistant production section chiefs upward, has received training in management at classes held by the cooperative. The cooperative has clearly defined the function of each cadre in order to enable each person to display initiative and dynamism in his work. It has also boldly reorganized the production management component, from the cooperative to the production sections, making it truly streamlined and efficient. As a result, indirect labor constitutes a very low percentage of the work force: 18 of the cooperative's 430 members. In 1967, the cooperative began researching and establishing labor quotas, supply consumption ceilings and technical standards for cooperative members. By 1976, the cooperative had established 146 rather complete labor quotas that laid the base for the implementation of contracts with progressive bonuses

with each section, each machine unit and each laborer, which helped to raise labor productivity from 15 to 25 percent. At present, the Nam Hai Cooperative has 192 quotas for 48 products. Many of these quotas have been constantly refined and are in some respects stricter than those at a number of state-operated enterprises.

To improve the quality of products and broaden the cooperative's product line, the party chapter has adopted a plan that encourages and provides incentive for cooperative members to make innovations and technological improvements and has boldly created the conditions for engineers and technical cadres to conduct research projects. The cooperative makes prompt awards for and widely applies worthwhile innovations. As a result, the engineers who work at the Nam Hai Cooperative are very content with their jobs. The movement to make innovations and technological improvements has drawn the increasing participation of cooperative members and helped to stimulate the development of production.

In May, 1984, the thermos bottle shop was officially put into operation. The opening of the thermos bottle shop represents a major achievement, a leap forward by the Nam Hai Cooperative. It is testimony to the leadership ability and the well developed specialized skills of Nam Hai's corps of cadres. It confirms as correct the policy decided upon by the party chapter.

The production of the cooperative has developed and the value of its total output has increased with each year: 1965: more than 142,000 dong; 1970: 270,000 dong; 1975: more than 2 million dong; 1980: more than 3 million dong; and 1984: more than 14 million dong. The income of cooperative members has also steadily increased: 1981: 250 dong per person per month; 1983: 465 dong per person per month; and 1984: 748 dong per person per month (not including a noonday meal allowance of 13 dong per day). All welfare policies are being maintained.

Together with providing leadership that has resulted in production being organized well, the party chapter has led the cooperative in building a force of new laborers who possess socialist awareness, possess the sense of collective ownership of the cooperative, are well educated and possess well developed manual skills. The party chapter has attached importance to teaching politics and ideology and has closely tied the teaching of ideology to the management methods of the cooperative. It has assigned each party member the task of explaining the directives, resolutions and policies of the party to each cooperative member. On each holiday, the party chapter arranges for the mass organizations to conduct political activities and listen to talks on current events. All of these phases of political activity are given concrete expression in spirited production emulation drives. The party chapter considers it important to use the wired radio loudspeaker system of the cooperative to report production news, publicize the policies of the party chapter and cooperative, present examples of good persons and good work... The cooperative has established very strict penalties for persons who misappropriate or waste raw materials, supplies and property of the cooperative and timely rewards for persons who uncover negative phenomena.

The party chapter and the cooperative's management board have concerned themselves with raising the cultural standards of the cooperative's members. They consider furthering one's education to be one of the emulation standards of cooperative members and have made it possible for cooperative members to receive education. Classes are regularly held at the cooperative. When they first join the cooperative, some members were illiterate and a number only had a first or second grade education. Today, the cooperative has five engineers (two of whom graduated from college through on-the-job classes at the cooperative) and 10 middle level cadres. Some 39 percent of cooperative members have a level III education, 42 percent have a level II education, 9 percent have a level I education and no one is illiterate (the blind know braille). The rise in cultural standards has helped the cooperative's members quickly learn science and technology and make many innovations and improvements in production.

The party chapter of the Nam Hai Cooperative has also concerned itself with training workers and provides training on a regular basis to improve the skills of the cooperative's members. The cooperative has trained 385 grade 1 to grade 6 glass technicians, electricians and mechanics. In addition, it has also trained 156 glass workers for eight allied units. At present, 62 technicians from the Nam Hai Cooperative are studying and working in the GDR and Czechoslovakia.

In the effort to build the corps of new laborers, the issues of uppermost importance at the Nam Hai Cooperative have been educating wayward youths and creating a productive and stable life for the disabled. These are very special features of the Nam Hai Cooperative. Since 1967, the cooperative has accepted 86 wayward youths. They had been living as bums, as thieves and robbers and many had spent anywhere from 1 to 8 years in detention being re-educated. Accepting as well as educating wayward youths truly constituted a difficult issue. When this policy was proposed, the party chapter had to meet on many different occasions and discuss it thoroughly in order to reach a common understanding and reach agreement concerning the educational measures to be employed. The mass organizations and production sections also had to meet on many different occasions in order to reach agreement with the policy of the party chapter. On this basis, the cooperative began accepting a number of persons each year. Each time wayward youths have been accepted into the cooperative, the party and Youth Union organizations have assigned outstanding members to work closely with these youths and help them develop occupational skills and cultivate good personal qualities. The party chapter has also coordinated with the local public security force to keep abreast of the changes in the thinking of each of these persons. As a result of being educated through a life of labor, being treated as an equal and loved by everyone and being given wholehearted assistance and good counsel by cadres, from the management board to the production sections, these youths have become honest laborers. Some 32 of them have become members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, 18 have gone off to defend the fatherland, 14 have been transferred to other units. All of those who remain at the cooperative are good laborers. Some are "emulation warriors" and production section chiefs and assistant chiefs. Gratifying is the fact that not one of these persons has returned to his once immoral way of life.

Since 1970, feeling profound empathy and love for persons whose circumstances are the same as his, Vong has suggested to the party chapter and cooperative that 26 homeless, blind and handicapped persons be accepted as members of the Nam Hai Cooperative and provided with suitable jobs in order to help them become productive persons. Generally speaking, these persons now have a stable life just like the other members of the cooperative. Some have started families. They have found joy and happiness in labor, in the love of the cooperative. They are close to the cooperative and consider it to be their big family.

The party chapter has attached very much importance to looking after every aspect of the lives of the cooperative's members. It considers supporting the daily lives of its members to be important in helping them to derive satisfaction from their work and focus their efforts on completing production tasks. The party chapter has issued many resolutions concerning this matter. In 1967, in keeping with a decision by the party chapter, the cooperative established the Production and Distribution Council to resolve each production and distribution problem of the cooperative. The Living Standards Committee keeps abreast of the circumstances and income of each cooperative member family and arranges for each family to do additional work at home in order to increase their income. As a result, there is not much difference in the incomes of families. Families who come upon hard times receive emergency aid from the cooperative.

Although it is a collective production unit, the Nam Hai Cooperative adopted social insurance and labor safety policies identical to those of state-operated enterprises at an early date. In 1967, cooperative members were given a yearly vacation, time off and medical care when sick, maternity leave and care... Persons who work for the cooperative for 15 years receive a pension equal to 75 percent of their wage when they retire. The cooperative has fully equipped itself with labor safety equipment, such as clothing, gloves, goggles to protect the eyes against heat... The various wage differentials for hazardous work have been fully implemented. Persons who must take time off as a result of injuries suffered in an accident on the job continue to receive 100 percent of their pay...

The cooperative has a collective housing project which, although plain, is sufficient to provide housing for 50 percent of cooperative member families. The members who live in the cooperative's collective housing pay no rent and receive free electricity and water. The child care center and kindergarten of the cooperative are attended by 100 percent of the children in these age groups. At the child care center and kindergarten class, children are served lunch by the cooperative and receive health care from the cooperative's public health station. When they reach work age, children are given a job by the cooperative.

The spiritual life of the members of the Nam Hai Cooperative is also quite rich. The cooperative's wired radio network is very active. Literary-art and physical culture-sport activities are encouraged by the cooperative. Its literary-art unit, which consists of more than 30 persons, has put on hundreds of shows for the cooperative and the locality. The volley ball team and table tennis team practice regularly and have participated in many friendship

matches. Each week, hours are scheduled for literary-art activities and club activities for cooperative members. Each quarter, they attend films and cultural entertainment shows.

Enjoying a material life that is adequate for the time being and a spiritual life that is relatively full, the members of the Nam Hai Cooperative feel close allegiance to it. Not one member of the cooperative has ever left the cooperative on his own accord and gone into trade on the outside. At Nam Hai, theft of property belonging to the cooperative is practically non-existent. Rather, the members of the cooperative are concerned with building it and truly love and assist one another.

As regards the growth and development of the Nam Hai Cooperative, besides the efforts made by the cooperative's cadres and members, mention must also be made of the wholehearted assistance and tremendous encouragement given to the cooperative by the various sectors, levels and mass organizations. This assistance, this encouragement has been a source of strong inspiration to the cadres and members of Nam Hai.

However, in the course of its growth, the Nam Hai Cooperative has also encountered more than a few difficulties due to the fact that certain concerned agencies have not attached appropriate importance to the cooperative. The Nam Hai Cooperative has now been producing a very large quantity of products for many years: 1,000 tons of public health bottles, 25 to 30 million syringes and many other products serving production and consumer needs. Although it always delivers 100 percent of the products required to the state and does so in exact accordance with the state plan and even delivers products outside its plan to the state at directed prices, the cooperative does not receive the full quantity of raw materials and supplies promised under economic contracts. In 1984, the cooperative was not supplied with the chemicals needed to melt silica sand. At the same time, some glass factories were supplied with more than they could use. As a result, the cooperative had to approach these factories and borrow these chemicals from them. In November 1984, as a result of not being supplied sufficient coal, the cooperative's leadership had to raise cash among its members to buy coal on the outside. The cooperative has also encountered very many difficulties and inequities in procuring the monthly supply of rice for cooperative members. Had these inequities been corrected, Nam Hai would surely have recorded much larger achievements in its production.

In 1985, the cooperative is endeavoring to produce 24 million dong in total output; introduce a new product, lightbulbs, and five other products, measuring beakers for gasoline and other petroleum products, distilled water containers, optical lenses for river signals and 1.5 liter and 2.5 liter thermos bottles; and produce 1,000 tons of public health bottles and other consumer goods. In view of the size of this output, besides the effort it itself makes, the Nam Hai Cooperative is in great need of assistance from the

various sectors and levels, especially assistance obtaining raw materials and supplies, so that Nam Hai can implement its plan well and make positive contributions to resolving the difficulties being encountered by the country with regard to glass products.

7809

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THE PATRIARCH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 87-89

[Article by Nhi Le]

[Text] A patriarch, according to the basic definition of this word, is the head of a family just as the elder is the head of a clan, the headman is the head of a hamlet, the chief is the head of a village... The term itself does not have a bad connotation. However, under the old system and within the framework of feudal culture, the patriarch was generally the person who held absolute power within the family. The patriarch, ensconced in his elevated chair, shouted and issued orders, oppressed and intimidated everyone and controlled everything. He was very subjective, domineering and arrogant. The people used to say: "You have to be a father to exaggerate and boast" and "father unjustly accuses, the mandarin intimidates others with his speech and the husband says everything they don't." This is perhaps why the term "patriarch" gradually began being used to describe persons who have an arrogant attitude and are arbitrary and dictatorial in their behavior, not only within the family, but in society as well.

Thus, the mentality of the patriarch is a remnant of the thinking of feudal society. Deeply ingrained in this mentality is the attitude of dominating others.

Yet, within our corps today are more than a few persons whom the mentality of the patriarch has infected, some even quite seriously. The report on party building at the 5th National Congress of the Party pointed out: "Within the apparatus of our party and state, arbitrary and authoritarian behavior and the mentality of the feudal patriarch are still rather pervasive." (1)

Some persons, fancying themselves as someone who has gained a small amount of public acclaim and being senior to others in age, turn into meritorious officials, become arrogant and smug and go around giving everyone "fatherly" advice. Other persons, having been given a certain public position or some authority, become arrogant, bureaucratic, arbitrary and despotic, place themselves above the collective and assume unto themselves the right to decide everything. They like to shout at others and issue instructions. They want and they demand that their subordinates do precisely what they tell them to do, to do things their way. And, anyone who does not...better watch out!

Narrow in their outlook, they see one person as lacking political experience, another as not having contributed much and are even more contemptuous toward the "women folk." They consider the persons under their authority as only worthy of being their "underlings" or as "members of their family" and view themselves as the only persons of "prominence," as the only ones "deserving of respect." They insist on reminding everyone about their "glorious past." They are always saying "I" this and "I" that and consider themselves to be an example, a model that others should be advised and instructed to follow. They become offended and cannot stand it when someone younger than they who has not undergone the same "process" as they is promoted.

President Ho called persons whose outlook is that of a patriarch persons with "the mentality of a militarist and bureaucrat." When put in charge of an area, like a king, they do as they please and find fault with everything. Their attitude toward superiors is one of contempt. They are despotic and overbearing toward subordinates and present themselves to the masses like mandarins, thus causing the masses to fear them. This mentality of being the 'headman' or 'headlady' has caused countless bad feelings and rifts, as a result of which the upper level and the lower level, the mass organizations and the masses are far apart."(2)

There are also persons who pretend to be "democratic" and feign respect for everyone but who, in their hearts, are no less of a patriarch. After formulating a program or plan, they, too, present it to the collective for discussion or solicit the opinions of the masses. But they listen to nothing the collective might have to say. They ignore any proposal or suggestion that the lower level or the masses might have. They praise and value anyone who supports them. But if you criticize them you had better watch out. At first, they might smile and nod their head in agreement with your criticism and might even proclaim: "I accept your criticism." But just wait. Whenever the opportunity arises, for example, when you commit a mistake or a shortcoming, they will immediately "teach" you a lesson you will not forget.

When managing work, some patriarchs never raise their voice and never have much to say. That is, they go about things quietly and steadily strengthen their control, the more quietly the better. Because, they know that in society today, shouting at people is improper behavior and gains the support of no one; moreover, it frequently fails to accomplish anything. On the other hand, sometimes only a few words whispered in someone's ear, a warm word of consolation from "father" plus a few promises of help from a leader who has power are enough to make the lower level dependent upon them...like singing a lullaby to a baby. Everyone remains silent and does what they are told. No one even knows that these persons have the mentality of a patriarch. It is only when someone who "doesn't know the real facts" dares to "take a risk" and forthrightly struggle to expose the mistakes of these persons and does not do what he is told that the shell is broken and we learn just how much "power" a manager whose mentality is that of a patriarch has.

In their daily contacts and dealings with others, patriarchs sometimes try to put on a smile and be cordial but they still never manage to conceal their true self: someone who thinks he is important, someone who has the attitude of a mandarin and likes to have other venerate and worship him. They talk to

everyone around them in a condescending tone of voice to give the impression that they are a superior, a person of authority.

The above is enough to show that persons who possess the mentality of a patriarch, whether they disguise it or not, never fail to turn out to be persons who always think of themselves as the father figure, as the elder brother of others and who, because of this thinking, abuse their authority, suppress the practice of democracy, decide everything on their own, give no consideration to the opinions of the collective or the masses, defy principles and disregard discipline in an attempt to consolidate their own personal position and power. They are persons who are arbitrary and conservative in their thinking, bureaucratic and authoritarian in their work and officious and arrogant in their relations with everyone. In essence, these are manifestations of subjectivism, of wanting to rule over and take the place of others.

Because there are still such patriarchs among us, the initiative and creativity of party members and the masses are being thwarted at many places. Many persons are afraid and dare not criticize the person in charge or they are indecisive and indulgent and ignore what is going on just so they don't get involved. At these places, the right of collective ownership is merely a matter of form and suppression and intimidation of the masses, conservatism and inertia are common as are opportunism, factionalism, flattering superiors, grovelling before superiors and a lack of internal unity. And, worse yet, these ills "pollute" our atmosphere, reducing the confidence that the masses have in the party and adversely affecting the relationship between the party and the masses.

Clearly, we cannot allow the mentality of the patriarch, the malady of arbitrariness to exist within our corps of cadres and party members. However, it would be impetuous for us to seek to eradicate these ills by means of simple measures, by means of orders or general slogans, by means of "quick" forms of education or by means of hasty disciplinary action. Because, as we know, certain aspects of the thinking and way of life of people, some of which are positive and others of which are negative, are quite firmly established and cannot be changed overnight. This is not to mention the formidable resistance posed by the psychology, the vanity and the stubbornness of these persons. Consequently, it is only through a continuous, long and determined struggle in which we take positive, concrete measures that conform with both reason and sentiment that we can eradicate these ills. Of utmost importance here is the need to fully adhere to the principle of democratic centralism in party life, fully practice democracy within the party and intensify the practice of criticism and self-criticism in close coordination with arranging for the masses to widely participate in criticizing party members. At the same time, it is necessary to enforce party discipline and the laws of the state, attach importance to inspections and formulate and implement good work rules.

Only in this way can we gradually eradicate this harmful mentality of the patriarch.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 55.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve xay dung Dang"[On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 29.

7809

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THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE ON THE LITERARY-ART FRONT UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 90-95

[Article by Vu Duc Phuc]

[Text] When the subject is the ideological struggle on the literary-art front, many persons' thoughts generally turn to the theorists and critics who refute a specious theory and criticize a work that is bad. This concept is correct but onesided. In the ideological struggle in literature and art, the task is to help to build and develop a system of revolutionary literature and art that is noble and humanistic. Literature and art play an extremely important role in the spiritual life of society; therefore, waging the ideological struggle in literature and art must be the task of the entire party and all the people, beginning with all those persons who are working in the field of literature and art, not simply the task of theorists and critics.

In the ideological struggle that has been waged on the literary-art front under the leadership of the party, it is first of all necessary to mention the especially important role played by President Ho Chi Minh. Back in 1918, in the Demands of the Vietnamese sent to the Versailles Conference, he demanded that the French imperialists grant Vietnam freedom of the press and freedom of speech (demand number 3). Between then and 1930, he wrote many newspaper articles and books summarizing, denouncing and condemning the reactionary press and literary-art policies of the French imperialists. He harshly criticized French journalists and writers for distorting the situation in the colonies in order to support and defend the imperialists. He extolled progressive journalists and writers who raised their voices to denounce the administrators in the colonies for oppressing the natives. He praised and encouraged talented writers in the colonies. He praised the popular literature and art of the Soviet Union...

Since it was founded, our party, guided and educated by President Ho Chi Minh, has waged a thorough struggle against books and newspapers, the contents of which are utopian, impractical and unsuited to the laboring masses, against "literature written in the capitalist style." Here, through practical examples, we shall see that the party has set high requirements concerning party consciousness, realism and popular character in press activities and in literature and art.

The period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939) was a period during which the party conducted a very large cultural campaign. In the ideological struggle on the literary-art front alone, the party employed many rich forms of struggle and achieved splendid results. Most characteristic of the struggle on the literary-art front during this period was the debate between the "art for art's sake" faction and the "art for life's sake" faction. The "art for life's sake" faction was led by a number of party members headed by Hai Trieu. Many researchers analyzed this debate in thorough detail and reached a clear conclusion. In the end, the key personalities of the "art for art's sake" faction had to admit that their view of literature and art was wrong and subsequently adopted the view of the revolution.

During the period from 1940 to 1945, from the perspective of the ideological struggle on the cultural and literary-art front, mention must be made of the "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution" (abbreviated as the "Cultural Thesis") issued by the party in 1943 and the article explaining this thesis written by Truong Chinh. For many years, whenever discussing the "Cultural Thesis," we only gave attention to three principles: national, scientific and mass in nature. In addition to such matters as the need for literature to be patriotic and national in nature (national), the need for literature and art to be realistic and created from the standpoint of the Marxist-Leninist world view (scientific) and the need for literature and art to serve the working people (mass), the thesis also pointed out the dangers to Vietnamese culture, literature and art under the Japanese and French fascists, asserted the role of the party in leading culture, literature and art throughout the nation, set forth the platform for the cultural revolution, etc. The "Cultural Thesis" truly became an effective ideological weapon of Vietnamese militants on the cultural and literary-art front, became a banner that rallied and united progressive and talented persons working in the fields of culture and literature-art to support the cause of the revolution, in general, and the cause of revolutionary culture, literature and art, in particular.

Following the successful August Revolution, in 1945 and 1946, the situation in the field of literature and art was rather complex. Many publishing houses, printing houses, newspapers and journals were still in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The Vietnamese traitors of the nationalist party, the Trotskyites and persons who were secretly pro-French continuously attacked our party and government politically as well as on the literature and art front. Despite these attacks, revolutionary literature and art achieved legitimacy. Practically all writers and artists joined the revolution. None of the old style works of literature and art, works that ignored the most pressing issues of life, received acceptance.

From late 1946 to 1954, in the war of resistance against France, literature and art were split along two distinct battle lines: resistance war literature and art and the literature and art within the zone occupied by the enemy.

The literature and art within the zone controlled by the enemy primarily served the French and the puppets or was tightly controlled by them. The literature and art within this zone were feeble and lame. As a result, even though our struggle against this literature and this art was not strong or intense and even though our criticism was often not on target, by the time we

liberated the capital Hanoi in 1954, the vast majority of the works within the former occupied zone had died and faded from the memory of readers.

The ideological struggle was primarily waged within resistance war literature and art. To be precise, this was not a struggle but a debate among the comrades working in literature and art, a debate in search of truth. Because, with the exception of a small number of hidden enemies, the Trotskyites and counter-revolutionaries, resistance war writers and artists were, generally speaking, patriots who had confidence in the leadership of the party and President Ho Chi Minh. However, this debate was still a rather sharp debate.

The convergence of the schools of modernism in literature and art and the lingering view of "art for art's sake" caused a number of writers and artists to raise the issue of distinguishing between art and propaganda. They maintained that art was "permanent" and propaganda "temporary." This incorrect view was opposed and Truong Chinh settled this question in a satisfactory manner in "Marxism and Vietnamese Culture"(1948). This speech by Truong Chinh to the 2nd National Cultural Congress, which expanded and developed upon the "Cultural Thesis"(1943), became the main document of the party on culture, literature and art, became the guidebook for all resistance war writers and artists. It was on this basis that the revolutionary literature and art of the people's democratic system were built.

The wayward views on poetry were strongly criticized by the former "commander-in-chief" of the "art for art's sake" faction himself, Hoai Thanh, in his "Speech on Resistance War Poetry" (1951).

The debates over socialist realism were not very heated because everyone had an earnest desire to gain an understanding of this model of creative method. However, the issue of the popular nature of literature and art proved to be a difficult issue to resolve. Because, when it was agreed that literature and art must serve the working people, we realized that we faced a clear obstacle: the majority of the working people was still illiterate or poorly educated. As a result, some writers and artists maintained that the masses had to be educated first before we could talk about appreciating and criticizing art. The party asserted: the very content of literature and art must be popular in nature and works of literature and art must serve the people, must elevate them while accepting their criticisms, which are frequently very accurate.

To build a system of popular literature and art, writers and artists, following a thorough debate, endorsed the line of the party that we must "revolutionize our thinking" and delve deeply into the life of the working people, an approach that was called "orienting our activities toward the masses."

The ideological struggle within resistance war literature and art was correct and necessary. It resolved, in a satisfactory way, many problems regarding literature and art and helped to stimulate the wholesome development of resistance war literature and art. This was very clearly illustrated at the National Cultural Entertainment Congress in early 1955 and in the mass reprinting of resistance war literary works in the capital. Although not many good works were produced, literature and art under our system developed

strongly in every respect and had a solid foundation, the correct line of the party.

During the period from 1954 to 1975, the ideological struggle on the literary-art front began with the protracted struggle against the Humanism-Masterpieces group which lasted from 1955 to 1958. The Humanism-Masterpieces group was a political movement and, at the same time, a cultural, literary and art movement that was entirely bourgeois and reactionary in nature. The Humanism-Masterpieces group intended to provoke a mass uprising against leadership by the party and demand that they share power with the party. They wanted to revise the Constitution along bourgeois democratic lines. Their views on literature and art were entirely liberal and bourgeois. They were against party leadership, against each and every point in the party's line on literature and art.

Because bourgeois democratic thinking has a certain appeal, some writers and artists were influenced by the Humanism-Masterpieces movement, even though they did not endorse it. It was only after the fight against the Humanism-Masterpieces group and after writers and artists had studied the party's line on socialist transformation and socialist construction and delved deeply into the activities of the masses in order to gain an understanding of the new life that numerous literary and art works of value appeared. More and more literary and art talents also appeared after 1958. During the years that followed, in the nationwide anti-U.S. movement (1965-1975), the ideological struggle on the literary-art front was marked by a number of events deserving of attention:

--In the South, even within the zone occupied by the Americans and puppets, we succeeded in launching a patriotic, anti-American and anti-puppet literary and art movement and criticized, to some extent, the negative aspects of literature and art under the Americans and puppets. Our literary and art militants operating within enemy held territory, who had to fight hard to deal with the enemy's attempts to suppress them, created and developed many effective forms of struggle. In the North, there was also a steady stream of articles criticizing the reactionary, decadent literature and art that existed under the American-puppet regime.

--As regards the so called "cultural revolution" in China, from the time it began until it ended, we never once gave it our approval, despite pressure from the Chinese side. We did not intervene in China's internal affairs but as we watched the "cultural revolution" in China, we saw that it was, when examined solely from the standpoint of culture, literature and art, something that was destroying genuine culture, literature and art. This made us even more vigilant against everything that was called the "thinking of Mao Zedong" and more alert to everything that was being sent to us by China.

--When the entire country was fighting the United States, the development of revolutionary literature and art proceeded very smoothly. However, after the Paris Agreement was signed (1973) with the country still not completely liberated, some persons did not see how the party's tactic of "pushing imperialism back one step at a time, bringing imperialism down one piece at a time" would work. On the other hand, our large losses and sacrifices in the

life or death fight against the enemy gave rise to feelings of pessimism and uncertainty. These feelings were, to some extent, reflected in a number of works. This situation was promptly criticized in 1973 and 1974. Although this deviation within the literary and art movement was very minor, it certainly would have grown and caused large cracks had we not promptly struggled against it.

After the South was totally liberated, we struggled during the years from 1975 to 1978 to gradually eradicate the influence of neo-colonialist literature and art in the South, beginning with anti-communist, anti-revolutionary literature and art and decadent, pornographic literature and art. We approached this effort with caution because not everything that had come from Europe and the United States was "neo-colonialist" and not all of the works within the U.S.-puppet zone had to be thrown out. We helped the writers and artists of the newly liberated areas orient their works and activities in a wholesome direction. On the other hand, we also intensified the activities of revolutionary literature and art.

Since 1979, the ideological struggle in literature and art has been approached from several different perspectives:

--The struggle against the remnants and influences of the reactionary, decadent culture, literature and art of neo-colonialism that are having an impact within our country: the party's assessment of our efforts in this area is that we have been and are continuing to wage this struggle but have not done very well. The 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party criticized many places for relaxing their efforts in the struggle against the reactionary, decadent culture. As a result, "the reactionary, decadent culture of imperialism, of neo-colonialism has not been eradicated in the South and its influence has even spread to the North."(1)

In addition to the reactionary literature and art of the imperialists, it has also been necessary to continuously combat the anti-Soviet, anti-Vietnam literature and art line of the reactionaries within the ruling circles in Beijing, who are supporting the imperialists in their efforts to undermine world peace.

--The struggle against deviations and unwholesome trends that have arisen in cultural, literary and art work, especially the "trend toward 'commercialization,'" toward the gratification of vulgar tastes for personal gain and profit, a pursuit which leads into the swamp of bourgeois art."(2)

--The most difficult aspect of this struggle is that of determining how to bring about the harmonious development of our literature and art and the production of many outstanding works. The 5th National Congress of Delegates of the Party confirmed: we have produced good, outstanding works of literature and art of international value; however, cultural activities, literature and art have not grown to meet the new needs of society. Generally speaking, the quality of many cultural, literary and art activities is not high, their content is not thoroughly socialist in nature and their attraction is not strong. It would truly be an intolerable shortcoming on our part were we to oppose reactionary, decadent literature and art, oppose "commercial"

literature and art but yet allow our own literature and art to lack attraction, to be of poor quality. Yet, our efforts in this aspect of the struggle are still very weak and this is why the party made this observation. However, the organizations that produce literature and art generally claim that the work they are doing is of good or very good quality and the criticism they receive usually amounts to nothing but praise.

While the ideological struggle waged on the literary-art front under the leadership of the party has taken a different direction during each period, it has always been consistent in purpose. A wealth of experience has been gained in the struggle during each period, a wealth of experience has been gained concerning each issue. From these struggles, we can draw the following lessons and experiences:

1. As long as imperialism remains in existence, as long as there are enemies of the revolution, we will have to combat hostile literature and art. The points to be remembered here is that the way in which we combat them differs during each period and that we must, in every period, clearly define what hostile literature and art are and how the enemy's literary and art schemes, tactics and policies oppose us.

2. Within revolutionary literature and art, whenever political difficulties arise (for example, when the party makes a momentary mistake, encounters an obstacle or lacks vigilance...), negative trends usually arise in literature and art. These trends are sometimes hostile trends (like the Humanism-Masterpieces group during the years from 1955 to 1958) and sometimes only deviations by writers and artists at a time of pessimism, vacillation, lack of confidence... When engaged in struggle, we must never confuse friends with enemies. Prior to the revolution, our party gave special attention to this matter. In the struggle against the Humanism-Masterpieces group, our party also distinguished between its leaders and those persons who were only somewhat influenced by them so that the proper attitude could be adopted.

3. One of the essential requirements in the ideological struggle on the literary-art front is the need to have a full understanding of the lines and views of the party, in general, and the party's line and view concerning cultural, literary and art work, in particular. The ideological struggle on the literary-art front must have the purpose of defending these lines and views of the party. Therefore, this struggle must reflect party consciousness, must follow party leadership and never be waged for the sake of personal motives.

Ordinary debates of the theory of literature and art, aesthetics and the rules of poetry and assessments of a work of art that differ but stem from the same proper motive must be encouraged because it is through these that literature and art develop. There was a time when the party newspaper printed two articles expressing contrary opinions concerning a particular play. Of course, in the end, right and wrong must be established, the truth must be made clear. What we should make every effort to avoid are shallow evaluations, especially the harsh and hasty rejection of a work.

There have also been cases in which persons in positions of authority within a locality have, on the basis of extremely subjective views, issued orders banning a play, a film or a book that had been approved for nationwide distribution. This is the absence of discipline, a lack of party consciousness and abuse of authority, not genuine struggle.

Waging the ideological struggle in literature and art is a matter that requires a great deal of sensitivity because we are not only dealing with ideology, but art as well.

4. In the ideological struggle in literature and art, "combatting" and "building" are inseparable. "In the ideological and cultural revolution, we must have a firm grasp of the relationship between 'building' and 'combatting' in all areas: ideology, culture and man." (3)

If we struggle to combat negative literature and art but do not struggle to build a system of splendid revolutionary literature and art, we will only be doing half of the job required by the party and the work that remains unfinished will sometimes cause us to suffer setbacks. Persons will then ask: you have combatted negative literature and art, but what have you put in its place? Are your positive literature and art good, do they attract interest or are they hard to digest and boring?

The literary and art line of our party is correct. Each and every person engaged in literary and art work has thoroughly discussed this line and sees that it cannot be any different. Our party listens to the opinions of literary and art circles and stands ready to accept every idea that is good. With such a line on literature and art, the fault for us not having managing to produce any masterpieces lies with everyone engaged in literary and art work, not just with writers and artists.

5. Waging the ideological struggle in literature and art is the work of all persons engaged in producing, circulating, distributing, popularizing, criticizing, managing, leading and guiding literature and art on all levels and within all organizations, not simply the work of literary and art theorists and critics. It is regrettable that not all of these persons and organizations have always performed their work with the necessary degree of caution or the highest possible spirit of responsibility. Only one question need be asked: are not the appearance of many works of poor quality, the existence of "commercialization" in literature and art and the pervasive influence of decadent literature and art enough to show the degree of responsibility we still lack?

However, in this work, facts have proven that the most important role is played by literary and art researchers, theorists and critics. The line of the party incorporates all the very best of world literature and art. However, world literature and art are a vast and exceedingly complex universe. Determining what the "very best" is in each and every specific case is not at all easy. On top of this, specifics and details must be distinguished from the perspective of a precise aesthetic viewpoint, not in a sloppy manner or a way that confuses one with the other. Each of these different matters requires researchers, theorists and critics to delve into and gain an

understanding of them. Therefore, within socialist literature and art, the role of research, theory and criticism is much larger than it is in bourgeois literature and art. And, there can be no denying that many achievements have been recorded in literary and art research, theory and criticism under our system. However, it is still the party's assessment that we continue to be weak in these areas. The inertia, the "standstill" in the field of theory, the sloppiness and unscientific nature of research and the shallowness of criticism continue to be major shortcomings that must be corrected.

FOOTNOTES

1. Truong Chinh: address delivered at the ceremony commemorating the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the "Thesis on the Vietnamese Cultural Revolution," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1984, p 26.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p 27.

7809

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THE LARGE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CAMBODIA'S SYSTEM OF REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 96-98

[Article by Le Dan]

[Text] Although it is still very young and has only been in existence for 6 school years, the system of revolutionary education of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has recorded very large achievements. This system of education has been built in a country that suffered heavy destruction at the hands of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphon butchers. The butchers closed all schools and turned them into storehouses, prisons and livestock farms. They murdered tens of thousands of professors, teachers and college students. They forced teachers and students to perform servile labor.

Following the historic victory won on 7 January 1979, which completely liberated the country from the scourge of genocide, and although efforts had to be focused on bringing the nation back to life, stabilizing the population and mopping up remnant enemy forces, the revolutionary administration established guidelines and set three tasks: restoring and building the education sector; endeavoring to wipe out illiteracy and provide supplementary education; and raising the standards, capabilities and quality of the education sector with the aim of meeting education and training needs.

With the concern and efforts of all party committee echelons and levels of administration, from the central level to the localities, and the wholehearted assistance of all the people of Cambodia, a people who possess a traditional love of education, very large achievements have been recorded in the work of restoring and building the education sector. The people, teachers and students spent millions of mandays cleaning up and repairing the old schools that were damaged and building hundreds of new schools. The education sector immediately organized an education management apparatus extending from the central level to the various localities; built the structure of the new system of education; compiled new curricula and textbooks in the Khmer language; and trained tens of thousands of teachers on an emergency basis.

By the start of the 1979-1980 school year, the first school year of the new era, they had restored or constructed nearly 4,200 general schools on the various levels, which had an enrollment of nearly 953,000 students; 96 kindergartens with an enrollment of more than 8,200; and one college, the

College of Medicine-Pharmacy, which had an enrollment of more than 700. In the current 1984-1985 school year, total general school enrollment has risen to nearly 1.7 million, nearly twice as high as it was during the first school year. The number of kindergarten students has risen to nearly 40,000, an increase of nearly five-fold. College enrollment has risen to slightly less than 2,000 students studying in five colleges and one correspondence class. Today, more than 90 percent of the children of school age are attending level I general schools. The majority of districts have a level II school. Eleven of the country's 20 provinces and municipalities have a level III school. In addition to the five colleges (the College of Medicine-Pharmacy, the Teachers College, the Technical College, the College of Economics and the College of Agriculture), there are also seven vocational middle schools with an enrollment of nearly 3,000 students. Hundreds of college and general school students have been sent to study in the fraternal socialist countries. A number of persons who have graduated from college or become technical workers have returned home and are helping to defend and build the country. The trade training school has trained 235 workers and currently has an enrollment of 125 students.

In 1980, the revolutionary administration launched the movement to wipe out illiteracy and provide supplementary education. Under the previous regimes, hundreds of thousands of adults never received an education. Today, they are attending night classes. Tens of thousands of teachers, students and cadres have volunteered to instruct popular education and supplementary education classes. After learning to read and write, many students go on to continue their education in supplementary education classes. The entire country has completed the first 3-year program. Illiteracy has been wiped out among some 69,000 persons, more than 67 percent of the total illiterate population. Supplementary education has been organized for more than 270,000 persons, practically all of whom are members of the armed forces and cadres, manual workers and personnel of the state. Nearly 2,000 persons have graduated from level III and level II supplementary education schools. Today, hundreds of thousands of persons are attending the classes to wipe out illiteracy being held under the second 3-year program and nearly 260,000 persons are studying at formal or semi-formal supplementary education schools, after work schools, and work-study schools.

Generally speaking, the education sector has been meeting the education needs of children of school age, the cadre training requirements of the state and the requirements of wiping out illiteracy and raising the cultural standard of the armed forces, of the workers, cadres and personnel of the state.

The new system of education is gradually becoming a system of socialist education. Its goal is to train new persons to defend and build the country of Cambodia as it gradually makes the transition to socialism. At the 4th National Education Conference (1983), Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Revolutionary People's Party and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, said: "Our new system of education has the clear goal of training new, socialist persons, persons who are new workers, new soldiers and new cadres who are loyal to the revolution, to the people, who possess genuine patriotism and love the socialist fatherland, who combine these feelings with the proletarian international spirit, especially the

spirit of friendship among Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos, friendship with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries."

The education sector has made very large efforts to implement the basic elements of education, especially political-ideological education and the teaching of revolutionary morals, and, through studies, through instruction, through productive labor and social activities, turn educational work into concrete actions.

The quality of education has steadily risen. Beginning with the 1984-1985 school year, all subsequent school years must be "school years of quality." The schools have been trying to meet training objectives. In particular, they have attached importance to the teaching of politics and ideology, with emphasis on teaching patriotism, on distinguishing between friends and enemies, on teaching love of labor, the sense of organization and discipline, internal solidarity and international solidarity, particularly the special militant solidarity between Cambodia and Vietnam.

Teachers and students, responding to and deeply impressed by the splendid nature of the new system, have been making positive efforts to teach well and learn well. At the same time, they have been participating in a spirited manner in the country's three revolutionary movements: the movement to defend the fatherland, the production movement and the movement to build the forces of the revolution. Many teachers and students in the countryside help guard and defend their hamlets and villages and have been participating in the effort to encourage persons who mistakenly joined the enemy to rejoin the people. A number of older students have volunteered for the army to defend the country. Many schools have cropland, raise crops and livestock and have a shop to repair school facilities, make educational aids and produce a number of handicraft products to serve everyday needs. The education sector has begun to organize technical education for students. During the agricultural season, students and teachers help the production solidarity teams plow their fields and transplant and harvest rice. They also actively participate in social work, in propagandizing and publicizing the positions and policies of the administration among the people and have recorded achievements in the "light of culture" campaign and the campaign to wipe out superstitions and establish the new, wholesome way of life. Vanguard Teenagers Units have been established in the level I schools. Youth Associations and the Revolutionary People's Youth Union have been established in many level II and level III schools, colleges and vocational middle schools.

For this school year, the country has more than 40,000 general school teachers, nearly 1,440 kindergarten teachers and hundreds of college, vocational middle school and trade school professors and teachers. This corps of educators has exhibited loyalty to the new system, is imbued with the new line and views concerning education, is competent and hard working.

In order to build an increasingly solid system of education, the state has given very much attention to the training of teachers. A system of conventional, long-term teacher training schools has been organized, strengthened and developed. Today, there is one teachers college and one advanced training school for teachers on the central level, seven regional

teacher education centers (including one center training teachers for the ethnic minority areas of the four northeastern provinces) with an enrollment of 1,500 students and 20 provincial and municipal teacher training schools. The College of Medicine-Pharmacy and the Teachers College have trained nearly 700 doctors and teachers, thereby meeting a portion of the pressing requirements of the developing public health and education sectors. The vocational middle schools have also trained 1,400 cadres to support the work of building the country.

The Ministry of Education, which has been focusing its efforts on compiling textbooks, has now completed more than 100 different curricula and textbooks and printed a total of more than 10 million copies, thus promptly meeting educational needs.

Attention has also been given to building schools. The administrations on the various levels together with the Association of Students' Parents, monks and the people have built many schools and classes and made many desks and chairs, the total value of which exceeds 100 million riels (the currency of Cambodia). In the northeast, a number of schools have established dormitories for ethnic students coming from the remote villages to study. A number of kindergarten classes have been organized by production solidarity teams, which also look after the living conditions of kindergarten teachers. The local administrations also provide cropland, rice seed and draft power to teachers and students for use in production and practical training and have established literacy and supplementary education classes. Some schools have built a school laboratory and library and produced a number of educational aids.

Over the past 6 years, with the concern and care of the party, the state and all the people and through the efforts and revolutionary zeal of teachers and students, Cambodia's system of revolutionary education has recorded very large achievements. The new system of education has come into being and been strengthened with each passing day, thereby meeting the educational needs of the children of the ethnic minorities as well as all of the people of Cambodia while training a number of teachers and management cadres for the education sector, training college educated specialized and professional cadres, training technical cadres and workers and gradually wiping out illiteracy and raising the cultural standard of the people.

7809

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FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 99-101

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] Years ago, a major characteristic of agricultural development in Korea, which was also the primary difficulty faced in developing agriculture, was the limited availability of cropland. More than 70 percent of the country's land was covered by mountainous forests. There were only about 2 million hectares of cropland, a rather large percentage of which was hilly or steeply graded land, the fertility of which was low. The limitations posed by the availability of cropland and soil quality kept agricultural output low and provided for little development by the trade sector. As a result, livestock production also encountered difficulties and livestock herds were small. Back then, Korean peasants ate very little meat. There was a very serious shortage of livestock manure for crops.

In the face of this situation, immediately after the completion of agricultural cooperativization in 1958, Korea attached importance to developing its agriculture in three different directions: first, by carrying out the technological revolution in agriculture, primarily by building water conservancy projects, carrying out electrification, introducing the use of chemistry and achieving mechanization with the aims of raising soil fertility, raising labor productivity within agriculture and raising output per unit of land; secondly, by applying the achievements of science and technology and utilizing the inherent strengths of domestic heavy industry to build projects to harness nature with the aim of opening additional agricultural land; and thirdly, emphasizing the superior nature of the socialist political system and production relations while tapping and encouraging the spirit of hard work, the sense of organization and discipline of farmers with the aim of stimulating the development of agricultural production.

Considering water conservancy to be the factor of foremost importance in restoring and developing the production of rice and primary grain crops, Korea adopted the policy of building water conservancy projects before proceeding further with development. At first, relying upon the people and utilizing manual labor, they dug ditches and opened streams under the slogan "all the people working together to build water conservancy projects." Later, in conjunction with the development of industry, Korea constructed large-scale

water conservancy projects consisting of large reservoirs, projects harnessing the flow of rivers and so forth, thereby gradually changing the face of agriculture. In the late 1960's, as a result of the effective assistance provided by industry, Korea virtually completed phase one of the construction of water conservancy projects. Today, in the rural areas of Korea, there are 1,700 hectares of reservoirs, 1,600 pump stations and a network of ditches that stretches for more than 40,000 kilometers. In addition, many projects have also been built to protect the soil and protect the ecosystem, such as erosion control forests, shelter belt forests, coastal forests, flood control dikes and sea dikes. These projects have been built up and strengthened each year; at the same time, they are fully protected under the law.

As a result of establishing complete irrigation and drainage networks and being able to effectively deal with natural disasters, Korea was able to establish 1.5 million hectares of cropland producing stable grain crops. At present, Korea is carrying out the second phase of the construction of water conservancy projects with the aim of completing the irrigation and drainage networks of areas raising subsidiary food crops.

In Korea, the development of industry, especially heavy industry, has demanded the acceleration of agricultural development in order to maintain balance within the national economy. On the other hand, it has created the ability to effectively support agricultural development. The gains made by heavy industry have been put to use in developing agriculture. Today, practically all rural areas of Korea have electricity for use in production and for lighting. Korea allocates 2.2 billion kilowatt hours of electric power to agriculture each year. The chemical sector produces enough fertilizer and pesticides to meet domestic needs. More than 1 ton of chemical fertilizer is applied to each hectare of cropland. The farm equipment sector has also been meeting the primary equipment needs of agriculture. Between 1977 and 1984, the output of tractors increased 1.7 times; the output of motorized plows increased 1.3 times; the output of rice threshing machines increased 1.4 times; the output of transplanting machines increased 1.5 times; the output of harvesting machines increased 6.3 times; the output of mowers increased 2 times; and the output of water pumps increased 2.3 times. The use of transplanting machines has increased the productivity of transplanting 20 times compared to transplanting by hand.

In 1984, as a result of the tremendous efforts described above, Korea, which has a population of 17 million produced 10 million tons of grain, primarily rice and corn. At present, Korea is carrying out projects to improve saline, coastal soil in order to turn 300,000 hectares of coastal land into rice fields. When these projects are completed and along with increases in the output being produced on existing fields, total grain output in Korea will rise to 15 million tons.

To resolve the problem of producing food for the people, Korea has also given its attention to creating plentiful sources of food products in a way consistent with the country's natural conditions. In 1984, Korea caught 3.5 million tons of marine products and produced 900,000 tons of meat, 1.5 million tons of eggs and more than 300,000 tons of sugar. Among the various food product sectors, it is the fishing industry to which most importance has been

attached. Because, on the one hand, fish are the main food source of Korea and, on the other hand, because the shipbuilding industry in Korea has the ability to create relatively full material and technical bases for the fishing industry. Korea has a rather large fishing fleet, a fleet that includes 10 fishing trollers of the 14,000 ton class built by Korea. The country's fishing ports have been equipped with modern equipment.

To resolve the clothing problem, Korea had to overcome one very large difficulty: it does not have much land on which to raise cotton. As a result, Korea cannot produce much cotton fiber for weaving into cloth nor can it raise many sheep for wool. Twenty years ago, relying upon the creative efforts of scientific cadres and technical workers and on the basis of the abundance of domestic raw materials that can be processed into synthetic fibers--anthracite coal, limestone and reeds--Korea began producing vinyl fiber, a durable substitute for cotton fiber. At present, 50,000 tons of vinyl fiber are being produced each year. More than 10,000 tons of synthetic fibers processed from reeds are being produced annually. In 1984, using these different types of synthetic fiber, Korea produced 800 million meters of cloth. Korea has been and is trying to improve the quality of cloth and diversify its cloth products with a view toward not only meeting the demand of the people, but also meeting their qualitative and aesthetic requirements. Korea is now building additional vinyl fiber enterprises, which will have an annual output of 100,000 tons. At the same time, it is intensifying the effort to improve saline soil in order to turn thousands of hectares of coastal land into land planted with reeds, thereby creating stable, domestic raw material bases for the textile sector.

The country of Korea has known the ravages of war. The war of aggression of the United States completely destroyed 28 million square meters of housing, more than 1,000 hospitals and more than 260 movie theaters and cultural centers. As a result, after the war, housing was one of the most pressing problems in the lives of the people throughout the country. As soon as the war ended, Korea began creating the conditions needed to gradually rebuild housing for the people. Importance was attached to the development of the production of building materials, such as cement, bricks, tile, housing members, pre-cast concrete... Korea has an abundance of the raw materials needed to produce cement. The country has dozens of large and modern cement plants, each of which produces more than 1 million tons per year. A portion of the output of these plants is exported but the major portion is reserved for the construction of industrial and communications projects. In addition, there are scores of local cement enterprises on the provincial and district levels. Local cement output is primarily used within the provinces, districts and countryside. As a result of having a developed cement industry and a developed iron and steel industry, housing construction in Korea has been carried out at a rather high rate. Between 1961 and 1970, the state built housing for 910,000 working families. During the period from 1970 to 1984, millions of workers received new housing. The capital P'yongyang and many other cities in Korea were virtually rebuilt following the war. In the rural areas, the majority of the families of collective farmers has received new brick homes under a master plan designed to gradually urbanize the countryside.

This year, the people of Korea solemnly celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Korea (15 August 1945-15 August 1985) and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Workers Party (10 October 1945-10 October 1985).

The above mentioned successes in resolving the food, clothing and housing problems are a part of the achievements that have been recorded in every area by the people of Korea since liberation day. Under the leadership of the Korean Workers Party headed by Kim Il-song, through diligent and creative labor and by constantly moving forward, the people of Korea have turned their once poor and backward country ravaged by war into a country that has a developed economy, a progressive culture and science and a standard of living that is constantly being raised. These are very important bases upon which the people of Korea can continue to move forward and struggle to reunify their fatherland.

In celebration of the major holidays of the people of Korea, the people of Vietnam express their joy over the victories won by the fraternal people of Korea and sincerely wish them many new and larger victories.

7809

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CHINESE SOCIETY AS SEEN THROUGH A NUMBER OF RECENT CHINESE LITERARY WORKS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 pp 102-106, 101

[Article by Le Huy Tieu]

[Text] The cultural revolution (1966-1976) was a tragedy for the country of China. It set Chinese society back several decades and destroyed the spiritual values of the Chinese. These facts have been reported in rather deep detail in the Western press and have even been acknowledged by the Chinese press. Those 10 years of internal strife have also surfaced in literary works called "injurious literature." Typical of these works is Bai Hua's film drama "Bitter Feelings." The cold, stiff corpse of the painter Lang Shenquan and the question mark he drew on the snow covered plateau arouse in the reader a strong sense of outrage.

Since the death of Mao and the downfall of the Gang of Four, Beijing's leaders have bragged that Chinese society is a "stable and untied society, a society of democracy and the rule of law"(1), that the people of China are "filled with happiness and pride."(2)

Is this really an accurate description of Chinese society today? Some idea of how accurate a description this is can be gained by reading a number of the works of the "expose" school of Chinese literature written in recent years.

Chinese society under Mao, and under Deng today, never was and has never been stable, united or democratic. In Mao's time, there were the many "rectification" campaigns that led to mass upheaval within Chinese society. Now, Deng has unleashed a "political purge" to get rid of everyone who is not a supporter of his. As a result, an atmosphere of suspicion, belligerence, and infighting envelops Chinese society from the central level down to the localities and basic units. The poem "One Boat, Two Hearts," which describes the uneasy relationship between the director and deputy director of a certain agency, reflects this reality:

"When I see him raise his head and peer out the window, I think:
Is he hatching a plan?
No doubt he's made contact with a foreign country.

Some day soon, he'll open fire and attack us.
When I see him, head down, busily writing at this desk, I think:
Surely he's writing up some false charges to get us killed..."

The poem concludes that because the country is not stable and the feelings of the people are so divided, no one has his heart and mind in his work and the "four modernizations" will surely turn out to be nothing more than a pipe dream, a joke. Factionalism, infighting and killing one another off are chronic maladies of China. During the time of the cultural revolution, there was a saying in China that went:

"Always keep the book in hand,
Always shout 'long live'.
Speak nicely in their presence,
Then stab them in the back."

(Which meant: always carry the book of Mao's teachings, never stop saying "long live." Speak well about others in their presence, but get them when they turn their back.)

Because society constantly lurches one way, then another and cadres are obsessed with struggling for power, the young generation has been left on its own and many youths have become wild animals, hating even their own relatives:

"Lips drawn tightly in hatred,
Arms and bodies that still bear
The teeth marks of wild animals fighting."
(*"Memories of the Violent Child"*)

The writer of this poem also raises a disturbing and profound question:

"Your path
Why does it lead to prison?"

Chinese youths are also losing their sense of direction and becoming disenchanted because they have "lost the key" to the door of life. As a result, some have turned to drink and others have become con artists, hoodlums and thieves. The play "Save Her!"(4) depicts the process that has turned Chinese youths into hoodlums. The central character, Li Xiaohu, was once a naive and innocent young girl. Because she refused to go along with the rioting and attacks by the "leftists," she was expelled from school and sent into hard labor in the countryside. Despite the fact that she worked hard night and day, she was still not recognized as a "positive element" and, as a result, was ineligible for a job in the city as a worker. Distraught over her bleak future, she thought up a plan: to pass herself off as the granddaughter of an influential cadre so that she could take the college entrance examination. The discovery of who she really was plus the fact that she had been shunned by her family gradually led her into a life of crime. She joined a gang of very cunning hoodlums, robbers and murderers and began living as if there were no tomorrow. To her, liquor and tobacco were more necessary than food... Such is the dead-end existence into which the young generation has been pushed by Chinese society today.

Following many years of upheaval, many years of lurching in one direction, then another, looking out for oneself and taking whatever one can get have become the way of life among leadership cadres on the Chinese mainland, from the powerful to the not so powerful. It is common for them to abuse their authority to fill their greedy pockets. The play "Power and the Law"(5) depicts the corruption of the administration and party committee in a city of China before and after the 1976 coup d'etat. The city administration is represented by the character Cao Da. Referring to himself as a seasoned revolutionary, he plunders the wealth of the people, "steals grain from flood victims," "operates tourist busses and sells houses." It is the opinion of everyone that this bully of an official is undermining unity, is acting against the interests of the party and the revolution. But the laws of the "Chinese socialist state" are only used to throw innocent citizens into prison. However, the law never dares lay a hand on powerful officials, such as Cao Da. There is no longer any justice. The citizen has no say in anything!

Such is the middle ranking cadre. However, the high ranking cadre is much worse. The poem "General, You Shouldn't Do Such Things"(6) tells about a general in the Chinese army who had a child care center demolished in order to build a villa for himself. The house was completely furnished with items imported by the state for use in the "four modernizations." Cadres such as this general are not rare. Blinded and dazzled by the things around them, they lose their "proletarian character" and completely forget the final words of the soldiers who died in their arms. While the "mothers of Thai Hang Son, who once nurtured them with their gruel," now must "use wooden spoons to scoop wild vegetables from their bowls," while the women of Lao Duong, who once bandaged their wounds, now must live in cramped conditions in houses "measuring only 6 square meters," must "hang their pots over their beds," these gentlemen imbibe Mao Dai wine and wrap themselves in fine robes. Despite this life of opulence, they still feel that they do not have enough, they still demand and take more:

"Give me this..."

'Give me that...'

Give him the moon

He'll complain it's too cold!

Give him the sun,

He'll complain its too hot!

He wants...

The world!"

The vice minister in the short novel "The Butterfly"(7) does not discover that he has a pair of hands and a pair of feet until he falls out of favor. Because, when he was vice minister, he only used his hands to sign papers and empty wine glasses and went everywhere in an automobile and didn't need his feet. He also discovers that he has ears and eyes because, when he was vice minister, he did not need to listen to or see anyone! Even the vice minister's son says about his father: "Father is back to his old self. He's begun by putting scores of persons on trial" and, he continues, "will not I be at the head of the list?"

The poem "We the Arrogant, We the Scales of Balance"(8) depicts another kind of leadership cadre in China today. The poem describes the eccentric character of an official. He likes to live a monotonous life and detests a life that is diverse and rich. He views everyone else as lazy, including persons who are diligent. He makes no distinction between something that is fragrant and something that stinks. To him, green and gold are the same colors. He venerates the snail because it moves slowly. He praises the beetle because it can make a nest even in feces. He speaks highly of the illiterate because they are easy to order around. He is so cruel and perverse that he would release a wolf from its cage, give a bonus to someone who is lazy, marry an idiot to a beautiful young woman...

With such bureaucratic, cruel, greedy and crazy leaders, the people of China "go on generation after generation eating nothing but watery gruel."

One of the tragedies that has befallen the urban youths of China today is to be sent to the countryside to be "reeducated" by farmers. In the play "My Story Is True"(9), such was the unfortunate fate of the youth Li Shaozhang. Although they were also sent into the countryside with him to work, wealthy youths grease the palms of commune cadres and are sent back early. If you are the child of a certain man or woman, you are exempt from going or are given a light job at the commune. Taking advantage of the desire of youths to return to the city and resume their education, a swarm of cadres on the upper and lower levels make themselves wealthy on the backs of innocent youths. Some youths, because they are poor and alone, reluctantly accept their fate, but others try hard to save themselves. Li Shaozhang invents a fake identity as the son of a provincial party secretary in order to receive special treatment. But he is found out and put on trial. When the court asks him if he knows what crime he committed, he replies: "The only mistake I made was not being the person I said I was. My mistake is that I am not the son of a high ranking party cadre. Were I, everything I did would immediately become legal. Were the identity I assumed really mine, I would be considered rational."

This play has been hailed by the Chinese public because it denounces the "double standard" that has existed since the time of Mao and, at the same time, exposes the corrupt style of the corps of leadership cadres. For these reasons, in RED FLAG Journal, issue No 20, 1980, Deng Xiaoping criticized and issued an order banning performances of this play. The fact of the matter is that this play does not fully depict the tragic plight of Chinese youths sent into hard labor in the countryside.

Chinese farmers constitute 80 percent of the country's population. In the old society, they were suppressed and never allowed to raise their heads. Now, they are still being badly treated, are still suffering. The short story "Li Shunda Builds a House"(10) tells about a Chinese farmer who has been planning to build a three-room house for 30 years but still cannot because he does not have enough money to buy building materials. The short story "Dawn in Ngán Hanh Hamlet"(11) reports that in the Chinese countryside in 1979, there was still a production unit chief, a man named Hoc Tan, who was so poor that he could not afford to buy a winter coat and had to "borrow" a tattered cotton jacket from his daughter to welcome the commune secretary.

The fate of intellectuals has not been any better than the fate of farmers. During the time of Mao, intellectual circles suffered a bitter plight and died pitiful deaths. Now, to deceive the people, the new leadership in China is singing the praises of intellectuals to the sky and calling them "precious assets." However, facts tell a different story.

The ophthalmologist, Dr. Lu Yunding --the main character in the novel "Reaching Middle Age"(12)--is very dedicated to her work. She works so hard that house chores and the care of their children have had to be assumed entirely by her husband. She is very highly skilled. Having become a doctor in 1961, in 1980 she was still only receiving a salary of 56.5 yuan, the same salary received by a doctor while still an intern. Meanwhile, persons whose professional skills were far inferior to hers but who were quite skilled in ingratiating themselves with others were being given rapid increases in salary. She had only one desk in her home. She, her husband and their children had to draw up a time schedule for taking turns using the desk. The schedule they worked out: the children first, then she; by the time that her husband sat down to read a book, it was very late at night. He was only 40 years of age but looked like a bald and wrinkled old man. Although a scientist, he had little time to devote to science. His wife was busy all day at the hospital and he had to take care of the house and the children. He mockingly said that he had become a "househusband."

The office of Dr. Lu Yunding was so crowded that you "could not turn around." Anyone else as long-suffering as she would exclaim: "Perhaps the mistake in life is getting married. Don't they say that marriage is the grave of love?" She lived a life so simple that it was dreadful: never once had she worn a pretty blouse, her meals were always frugal and she had lived in Beijing for more than 10 years but not gone to Beihai Park once.

Although she was overworked, tired and in need and although she was crowded everywhere she went, she was never helped by anyone. There were many nights when she felt that "everything in this great big world is falling apart."

One day, because she had to work three consecutive shifts in surgery, she went home and collapsed from a heart attack. Her husband quickly called the hospital to ask for an ambulance. The person in charge of the ambulance unit replied: "I cannot dispatch an ambulance without an order from my superior." The husband carried his wife into the street and "luckily" was able to get a truck driver to take his wife to the hospital. Although on the verge of dying, she still expressed regret that she had not had the time to braid her 6 year old daughter's hair and sadness over not having been able to buy her son a shiny pair of leather shoes.

Recently, there has been a steady stream of propaganda in Beijing's press and on the radio about the happy married life. There is propaganda about young men and women being able to freely choose their partners, about week-long honeymoons at places of scenic beauty. But read the short novel "The Fragments of Love Foresaken"(13) and you will see that the young men and women of China are still the victims of old fashioned, backward feudal thinking. The novel describes the fates of three women: the mother who, during the time of agrarian reform, knew the pain of not being able to marry the man she

loved. During the cultural revolution, her first daughter fell in love with a young man but because she was gullible became pregnant and was looked down on by the entire hamlet. In the end, unable to endure the shame, she jumped into the river and killed herself. Her lover was sent to be reeducated. After the cultural revolution, the love affair of the mother's second daughter was broken up by the mother herself. Acting out of greed, she forced the girl to marry a man she did not love.

In summary, through the several literary works described above, we see that present day Chinese society is still fragmented, still divided. Youths see a future that is bleak. Cadres are corrupt. Decent intellectuals are being treated unjustly. The people, generally speaking, have lost all confidence in their rulers. The "stability" and "unity" being talked about by the authorities are nothing more than make believe. Moreover, how can there be "stability" and "unity" when Chinese authorities continue to destroy the revolutionary gains made by the working people of China; when they advocate a policy that some persons should endure exploitation so that a number of others can exploit them and become wealthy first; when they advocate a policy of a capitalist system and a socialist system comfortably existing side by side within China at the same time.

The works of "expose literature" once enriched contemporary Chinese literature because they dared to take a hard look at the tragic reality of present Chinese society and raise voices in criticism of this reality.

Some persons will ask: how can these works of "expose literature" emerge within a society of brute force, such as present day Chinese society? When they first came to power, the current leaders in Beijing sought, through the policies of "liberating thinking" and "spreading democracy," to deceive the people and wanted to use the schools of "injurious literature" and "expose literature" to reduce the prestige of the "leftists" in the cultural revolution and other persons outside their faction who were impeding their "four modernizations." However, these works did not entirely conform with the desires of the authorities. They were like a "double edged sword": they denounced and condemned the cultural revolution but also took aim at those who are sowing the seeds of a new tragedy for the country of China. Now, the demagogic arguments have been swallowed whole and the doors of this phony democracy have also been closed. But can they prevent the school of "expose literature" from criticizing the sinister reality of Chinese socialism when the principle of "socialist construction," one of the "four major principles," is interpreted as permitting the open betrayal of socialism, when "spiritual pollution" is opposed in word but encouraged in deed, encouraged by the real bases of society?

FOOTNOTES

1. Address by Deng Xiaoping delivered at Tienanmen Square on 1 October 1984.
2. Ibid.
3. Author: Kong Xiangyou, PEOPLE'S DAILY Newspaper, 5 February 1980.

4. Playwright: Zhao Quokeng, performed by the Truong Xuan Drama Group, 1979.
5. Performed by the Beijing Players in 1979, quotations taken from QUANG MINH Daily Newspaper, 2 January 1980.
6. Author: Yan Wenfu, THI SAN Journal, No 8-1979.
7. Author: Wang Weng, OCTOBER REVIEW, No 4-1980.
8. Huang Sen Zhong, MANG CHUNG (Lieu Ninh)Journal, No 10-1981.
9. Yan Yuesen, performed by the Shanghai Drama Group in 1979; quotation from PEOPLE'S DAILY Newspaper, 13 March 1980.
10. Gao Xiao Zeng, from PEOPLE'S DAILY Newspaper, 2 January 1980.
11. Bai Hua, PEOPLE'S DAILY Newspaper, 9 February 1980.
12. Tham Dung, HARVEST REVIEW, No 1, 1980.
13. Zhang Xiang: "Literature," Shanghai, No 1-1980.

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COVER PAGES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 85 Inside Front Cover, Inside Back Cover

[Text] Inside Front Cover

"The August Revolution toppled a monarchy that had been in existence for dozens of centuries, shattered the chains of nearly 100 years of colonialism, brought political power back to the people and laid the foundation for a Democratic Republic Vietnam of independence, freedom and happiness.

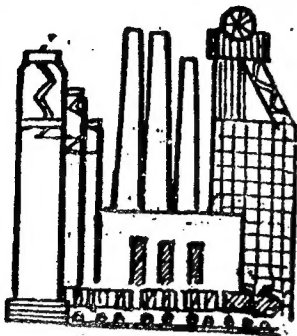
It was truly an extremely large turning point in the history of our country."

Ho Chi Minh
(1951)

Inside Back Cover

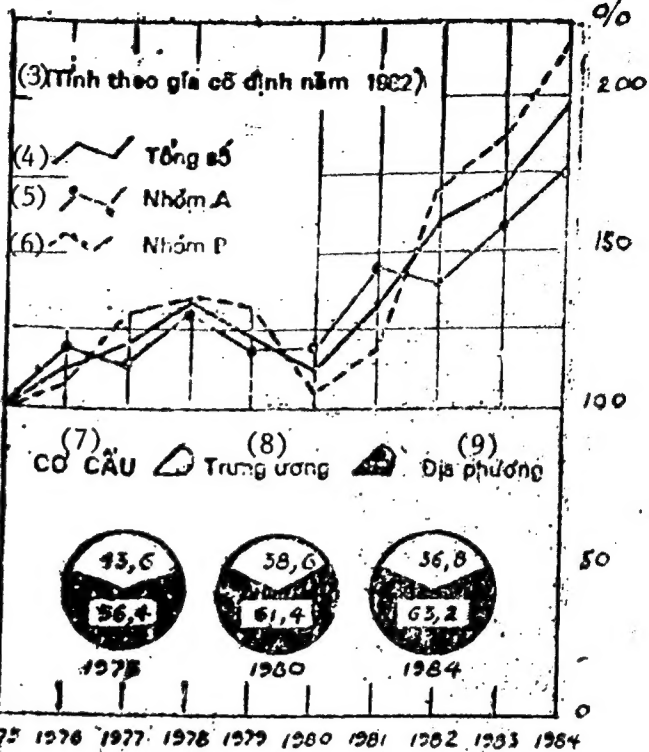
1. Industry
2. Value of total industrial output
3. Calculated at 1982 fixed prices
4. Total
5. Group A
6. Group B
7. Breakdown:
8. Central level
9. Local Level
10. Total
11. A Number of Products
12. Electricity (millions of kwh)
13. Washed coal (millions of tons)
14. Cloth (millions of meters)
15. Ocean Fish (thousands of tons)

(1) CÔNG NGHIỆP

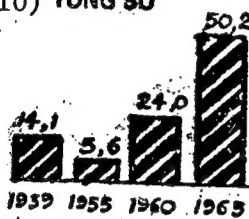


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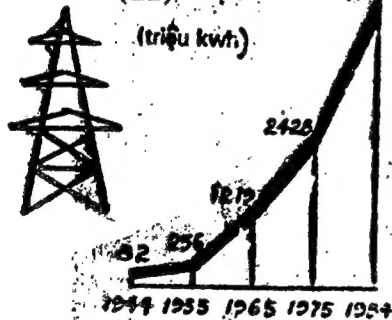
(2) GIÁ TRỊ TỔNG SẢN LƯỢNG CÔNG NGHIỆP



(10) TỔNG SỐ



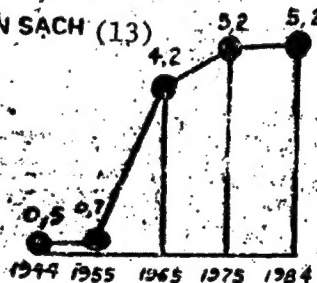
(12) ĐIỆN (triệu kw)



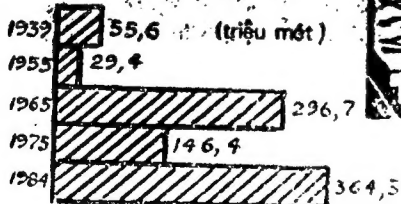
MỘT SỐ SẢN PHẨM (11)

(triệu tấn)

THAN SẠCH (13)

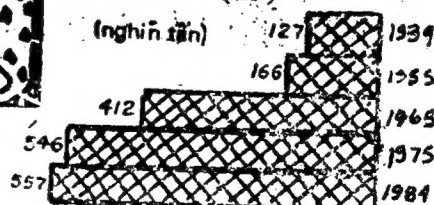


(14) VẢI (triệu mét)



CÁ BIỂN (15)

(nghìn tấn)



END

INDEX TO TAP CHI CONG SAN, NO 8, AUGUST 1985
[The following index is provided as a service to JPRS consumers.]

B

Bac Thai Province, 53
 education in, 55
 nationalities policy and, 52, 53
 rice yield, 56, 59
Ben Tre Province, 68
 cooperativization in, 63
 exports, 65
 grain output, 64
 industrial crops, 65
 industry, 65
Binh Tri Thien Province
 education in, 75
 exports of, 74
 forestry in, 74
 grain output, 73, 74
 livestock production in, 74
 public health in, 75

C

Cai Lay District
 cooperativization in, 88, 89, 91
 education in, 90
 industrial crops in, 87
 public health in, 90
 rice yields in, 85, 86, 87
Cambodia, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 71, 76
China, 4, 20, 62, 74, 75, 76, 117, 118, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135
Council of Ministers, 94, 101
Council of State, 94, 101
Czechoslovakia, 106

D

Deng Xiaoping, 130, 133

E

Eighth Plenum resolution, 99

F

Fifth CPV Congress, 11, 62, 110, 118
Fourth CPV Congress, 62
France, 20, 30, 31, 78, 79, 80, 83

G

GDR, 106

H

Haiphong, 101, 104
Hanoi, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39
Heng Samrin, 123
Ho Chi Minh, 3, 7, 8, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 34, 38, 39,
52, 53, 61, 83, 84, 111, 114, 116, 137
as Nguyen Ai Quoc, 2
Hoa Vang District
cooperativization in, 97
grain output of, 94
industry in, 94, 99
population growth in, 94
Hue, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51

I

Indochina, 20, 26, 71, 79
Indochinese Communist Party, 2, 3, 8

J

Japan, 19, 20, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37

K

Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, 2
Kim Il-song, 129
Korean Workers Party, 129

L

Lao People's Revolutionary Party, 2
Laos, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 71, 76
Le Duan, 15, 60

M

Mao Zedong, 117

P

People's Democratic Republic of Korea
agriculture in, 126, 127
fishing industry, 128
housing, 128
industry in, 127
textiles in, 128
People's Republic of Kampuchea
corps of teachers, 124
Laos and, 124
school enrollment and, 122, 123, 125
Soviet Union and, 124
Vietnam and, 124

Q

Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, 93

S

Secretariat Directive 100: 89
Southeast Asia, 4, 5, 8, 9
Soviet Union, 2, 5, 7, 8, 31, 33, 45, 114, 118

T

Truman, H., 20, 21
Truong Chinh, 18, 115, 116

U

United States, 20, 80, 83, 95, 96, 117, 117, 118